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PATHWAYS TO INDIAN HISTORY

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JOSEPH VERNON FURTADO

BOOK III

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PATHWAYS TO INDIAN HISTORY

BOOK III
THE NEW INDIA

By
JOSEPH VERNON FURTADO, B.A.

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PREFACE

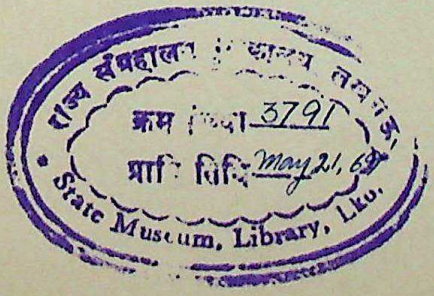
This third book concludes the series of Indian History for middle school classes.

It covers what is commonly accepted as the modern period of the history of India, beginning with the coming of the European settlers and carrying the record down to the present day.

As the book is for a higher grade than the two previous ones, it adheres more strictly to purely historical data and to the actual sequence of events, though it keeps to the narrative style as far as possible. Every effort has been made to treat the subject-matter in as impartial and objective a fashion as possible, without injecting any unnecessary commentary into the account.

As in the two previous books of this series, each lesson is followed by a summary and set of questions which will, we trust, considerably simplify the task of both student and teacher.

J. V. F.



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EARLY EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

THE QUEST FOR SPICES

Geography. Geography has largely made the history of India. The Himalayas, a great chain of mountains stretching from west to east, lie to the north of India. They include Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world, and the Khyber, Kurram and Bolan passes. This natural wall has for centuries presented a great obstacle to travel, and yet it has never completely protected the country against foreign invasion because of its passes.

India falls naturally into two parts—Hindustan and the Deccan. The former includes the vast fertile plains immediately below the Himalayas; they are watered by the Indus, the Ganges and their tributaries. These fertile plains were the home of ancient civilizations and of great empires. Separated from Hindustan by the Vindhya Range is the Deccan plateau, watered by the Mahanadi, the Godavari and the Krishna rivers. The Deccan also had its own empires and developed its own distinctive culture.

High and broken ridges, called the Western and Eastern Ghats, flank the two sides of the Deccan plateau. Between these and the vast seas beyond

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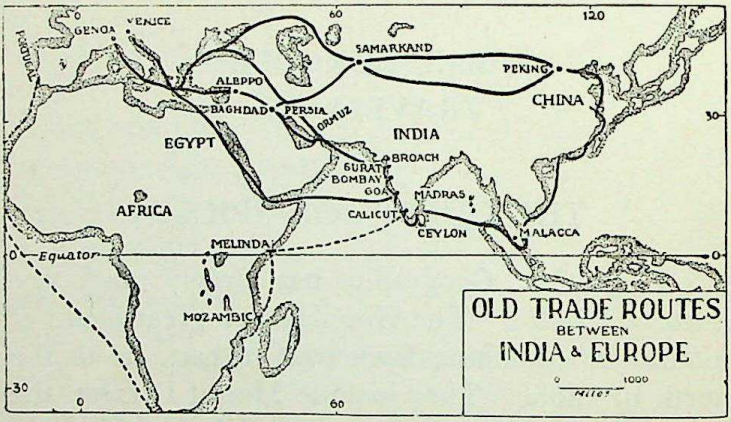

Old Trade Routes

—the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea—are narrow belts of plain. Great natural barriers though these seas are, they likewise did not prevent European foreigners from landing on the shores of India. They came in quest of cotton goods, silk and spices like cloves, cinnamon and pepper which were not available in their countries. Later, though this had not been planned, they followed a course that resulted in the building of the greatest of overseas empires.

Spirit of Adventure. What led Europeans to discover the rest of the world, and to colonize other lands? Chiefly, it was the spirit of adventure. Men in Europe were driven by the desire to achieve great deeds. They were also moved by need. They wanted food, land and wealth.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the

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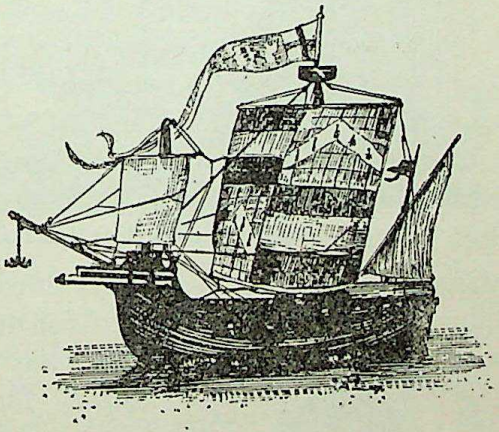
Ottoman Turks built a great empire in Central Europe. As a direct consequence, the overland route was closed to the Christians of Europe. They, therefore, began to try to discover a sea route to the East.

The Portuguese were the first to make the attempt. Year after year, Portuguese naval expeditions went further and further into the unknown seas. In 1488, Bartholomeu Dias reached the southernmost tip of Africa, which was called the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later, Vasco da Gama discovered India. His discovery of the sea route brought the Western nations directly in touch with the East. One by one, Portugal, Holland, France and England came out to the East to trade, mainly in spices. This quest for spices led to the establishment of European trade settlements in the East.



A European Vessel of the Times

The Portuguese. Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut, the territory of the Zamorin, on May 27, 1498. Two years later, Pedro Alvarez Cabral

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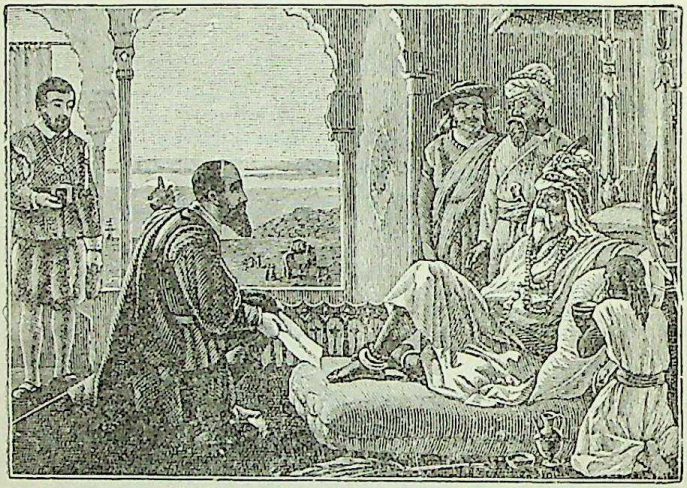

Vasco da Gama and the Zamorin

arrived in India with a fleet of thirteen Portuguese ships. He was followed by Alfonso de Albuquerque, who was chiefly responsible for establishing Portuguese power in India.

Alfonso de Albuquerque

Albuquerque began by capturing, in 1510, the rich port of Goa, belonging to the Sultanate of Bijapur. It became the seat of Portuguese power in the East. Gradually a number of other settlements were established, in-

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cluding Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay on the western coast, San Thome near Madras and Hugli in Bengal. Portugal thus became the strongest European power in India.

By the eighteenth century, the Portuguese had lost their supremacy and a great many of their settlements. Portugal's downfall was mainly due to the Portuguese policy of merely holding a narrow strip of coastline, without a hinterland, which left no room for retreat when they were attacked either from the land or from the sea. In addition, there were rival European nations who speeded the decline that had already begun, and soon Goa, Daman and Diu were the only Portuguese settlements left in India.

Francis Xavier. Francis Xavier was born in the castle of Xavier in Navarre, in France, on April 7, 1506. The Pope appointed him to preach Christianity to the people of the East Indies, and he landed at Goa on May 6, 1542, where he spent most of his time in preaching and ministering to the sick. In 1545 he left for the Molucca Islands and, after four years, went to Japan. He returned to Goa in 1552. The same year, he left on his last voyage for China. On

Francis Xavier

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the island of Sancian, near the coast of China, he was taken ill and breathed his last in a small hut on December 2, 1552. He is considered to be one of the greatest missionaries. His body was brought to Goa, where it is still preserved, and exposed every few years. He was canonized (made a Saint) in 1622.

The Dutch. The United East India Company of the Netherlands was formed in 1602. It was originally a trading company but it became a " great instrument of war and conquest " for over two and a half centuries.

In 1605 the Dutch captured Amboyna in the Spice Islands, and superseded the Portuguese in these islands. A few years later they established themselves in Batavia, Malacca and Ceylon. Though their chief interests were in the islands of the Far East, which were rich in spices, they soon drifted towards India and set up factories in Gujarat, on the Coromandel Coast, in Bengal and Orissa.

Dutch prosperity naturally excited the jealousy of rival European powers, and it was not long before Holland and England clashed on the question of Eastern trade. Commercial rivalry, with occasional outbreaks of war, continued for more than a century, till the Dutch power in India finally gave in to the growing British opposition after the battle of Bedara in 1759.

The English. Father Thomas Stevens is the first

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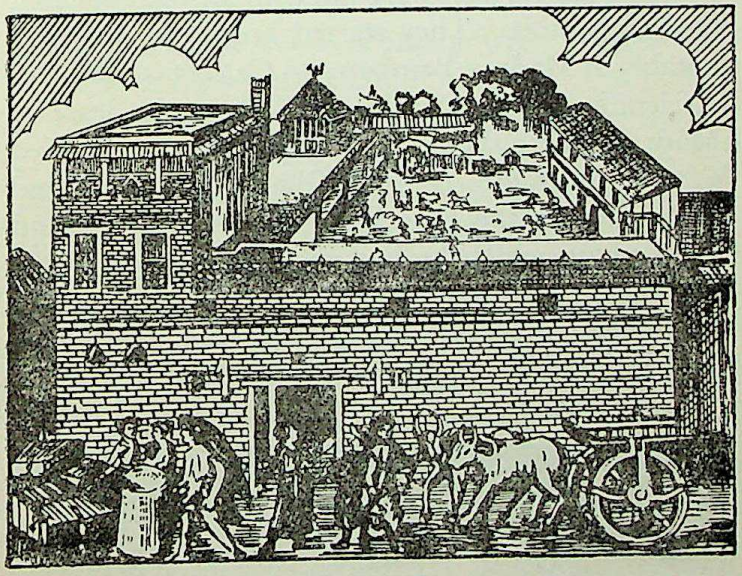
known Englishman to have come to India. He became Rector of the Jesuit College in Goa in 1579. His letters to his father are believed to have aroused in England a desire to trade with India.



English Factory at Surat

The first important step towards England's commercial enterprise in the East was taken on December 31,1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted a Royal Charter to the East India Company. But it was not till 1609 that the Company was able to open factories in India. Emperor Jahangir was approached by Captain Hawkins for leave to do so and the request was repeated, two years later, by Sir

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Thomas Roe, an ambassador of King James I of England at the Mughul Court. This led to the establishment of factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach.

But the English were not content with opening trading centres. They started acquiring territory, notably in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In 1640 a friendly Hindu Raja granted them the lease of Madras, where they built a fortified factory, called Fort St. George. In 1668 Charles II of England transferred to the East India Company the island of Bombay, which he had received as part of the dowry when he married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. In 1690 the famous Job Charnock established a factory at Sutanuti. Eight years

Old Bombay Island

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later, Sutanuti, together with the villages of Kalikata (later Calcutta) and Govindpur, was granted in *zamindari* or rented to the Company by the Mughul Emperor Aurangzeb. Several factories were thereupon opened in Bengal, and placed under a President and Council with their headquarters in Fort St. William.

The Company now held Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In Madras, their powers depended on the Indian rulers; they held Bombay on behalf of the Crown; and in Bengal their authority came from their *zamindari* rights. In 1715, among other privileges granted by the Mughuls, the English were allowed to use their own coins, minted at Bombay, throughout the Mughul Empire. A little earlier, also, the Directors of the Company had written to their chief agent at Madras, instructing him to lay " the foundations of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time ".

The French. The French were the last of the European powers who tried to trade with the East. In 1664 they formed the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, but did not meet with much success. Three years later, Francois Caron established French factories at Surat and Masulipatam. In 1673 the French obtained a small village, where they founded the town of Pondicherry, and the following year the Nawab of Bengal granted them another site, on which they built the factory of Chandernagore.

The French also clashed with other European

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powers in India, notably the Dutch and the English. Their interests, however, did not suffer very considerably at this early stage because their sole object was to trade with India. The French Company's factories "were more or less fortified, but for motives of simple security against the Dutch and the English". It was only in 1742 that Dupleix began to entertain hopes of building a French empire in India.

SUMMARY

Though India is surrounded by formidable geographical barriers, it has always been a prey to invasions by land and sea. After the sea route to India was discovered by Vasco da Gama, Alfonso de Albuquerque came to India and established the Portuguese power. Two centuries later, the Portuguese had lost their supremacy. The next to arrive were the Dutch. Their chief interests were in the islands of the Far East, but they soon drifted towards India. After a century and a half their power collapsed, largely owing to English opposition. Queen Elizabeth's Charter to the East India Company was the first step towards British enterprise in the East. Though they also came only to trade, they soon established factories in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, and acquired territory. The French were the last to come. At first their object was the common quest for spices, but later they too started empire-building in India.

QUESTIONS

1. What has been the effect of India's geography upon India's history?
2. How did the Portuguese establish their power in India, and why did it decline?

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3. Why was the Dutch power in India short-lived?
4. How were British settlements in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay established?
5. How was French power in India established?

ENGLISH AND FRENCH RIVALRY

First Carnatic War. The scene of English and French rivalry was the Carnatic, the name given to the Coromandel Coast and its hinterland. The chief trading stations of the English and the French on this coast were Madras and Pondicherry. Both these cities were well fortified and had a population of about 500 Europeans and 25,000 Indians each. Fort St. David, south of Pondicherry, was another English station. All three cities depended for supplies and for safety upon the respective navies of the two powers.

In 1740, war broke out between England and France in Europe, and Englishmen and Frenchmen, who had been trading peacefully in India, now fought against one another in what is known as the First Carnatic War. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, at first tried to negotiate with the English; but having failed, he appealed to La Bourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, who immediately came to his assistance with a squadron of eight ships.

The French besieged Madras by sea and land, and captured it. Unfortunately, dissensions broke

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out between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais and the latter returned to Mauritius. In 1748 a large squadron came from England, and the English, in their turn, besieged Pondicherry, but were compelled to retreat because of the monsoon. In the meantime the war in Europe came to an end, and with it the First Carnatic War. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was returned to the English.

Second Carnatic War. The Carnatic was originally a province of the Mughul Empire, under the Subahdar of the Deccan. But as Nizam-ul-mulk, Subahdar of the Deccan, had made himself independent, the Nawab of the Carnatic also acted as an independent ruler. In the Deccan the throne of Nizam-ul-mulk, who had died in 1748, was claimed by his son, Nazir Jang, and his grandson, Muzzafar Jang. A similar situation had arisen in the Carnatic, where there was a dispute for succession to the throne between Anwar-ud-din and Chanda Sahib.

Dupleix

Dupleix, who knew that his only hope of establishing French power in India was through alliances with local princes, made treaties with Muzzafar Jang and Chanda Sahib. In 1748 these

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three allies defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din at the battle of Ambur. They also defeated and killed Nazir Jang. Chanda Sahib became Nawab of the Carnatic, and Muzzafar Jang became Subahdar of the Deccan. Muzzafar Jang was not ungrateful for the assistance he had received; he made Dupleix Governor of all the Mughul territories south of the Krishna river, and ceded to the French territories near Pondicherry and in Orissa, including the town of Masulipatnam.

The English now realized the danger to their position, and, though there was no war between the English and the French in Europe, hostilities began in India. The English sent a detachment of troops to the assistance of Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din, whom Chanda Sahib, with the help of the French, attacked at Trichinopoly.

In the meantime, Robert Clive, a civilian employee of the East India Company, suggested an expedition to Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, to relieve Trichinopoly. He was therefore sent at the head of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys and occupied Arcot without much difficulty. Chanda Sahib immediately raised the siege of Trichinopoly and

Robert Clive

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sent a detachment to re-capture Arcot. Clive, however, offered stubborn resistance. The English then defeated the French forces who had withdrawn from Trichinopoly, and captured Chanda Sahib. This success greatly raised the prestige of the English in India.

The French authorities, who did not understand the full significance of Dupleix's policy in India, decided to recall him. His successor concluded a treaty by which the French lost almost everything, except the Northern Sarkars, in the Deccan, which by a clever stroke of policy, they contrived to secure.

Third Carnatic War. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe led to the Third Carnatic War in India. Clive immediately captured the French possession of Chandernagore in Bengal.

In South India, Count de Lally, who had been sent from France, struck at Madras in 1758. But he received no assistance from Admiral D'Ache, who was in command of the French fleet. He therefore raised the siege of Madras and attacked the Raja of Tanjore, who had to pay Rs. 70 lakhs to the French.

The French fleet was twice defeated by the British fleet, which had come down from Bengal, and Admiral D'Ache temporarily withdrew from Indian waters. These reverses compelled Lally to raise the siege of Tanjore, and suspend operations till the outbreak of the monsoon, when the British fleet would have to leave the vicinity.

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Lally, however, could not accomplish much when the monsoon did break out. Late in 1759, D'Ache, who had returned, was again signally defeated by the British, and left Indian waters for good. The English became complete masters of the sea, and the fate of the French in India was sealed.

During the next twelve months the French met with reverses everywhere. Colonel Coote arrived in the Carnatic and won a decisive battle in 1760 near Wandiwash. He followed it up with several other victories, and soon the French lost all their territory in the Carnatic, except Pondicherry and Jinji.

Lally next tried to improve the French position by an alliance with Hyder Ali of Mysore. The alliance, however, did not last. The English made attacks by land and sea till the French surrendered every one of their possessions in India. Though Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal and Chandernagore were returned to them after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the French never recovered their former position in India.

3791

Estimate of Dupleix. Dupleix was one of the greatest Frenchmen who came to India. He was not inclined to be merely the head of a trading company; his gifts were those of a diplomat and a general. He loved power and pomp. He was the first to think out a regular scheme for building an empire in India. Many of his ideas were subsequently taken up by the British. Dupleix was not

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only first in the field, but he might even have succeeded in establishing a French empire, if the authorities in France had given him proper assistance. Lack of support from the home government and quarrels among the French generals in India were responsible for his ultimate failure.

SUMMARY

The scene of French and English rivalry was the Carnatic, where they fought three wars. The first was the result of the war between the two powers in Europe. The French captured Madras and the English besieged Pondicherry. The war ended abruptly when the European war ceased and Madras was returned to the English. The second war broke out because Dupleix allied himself with Chanda Sahib and Muzzafar Jang to build up French power in India. The English realized their danger in time, and, through the military genius of Clive, succeeded in outwitting the French, who lost everything except the Northern Sarkars. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War led to a renewal of hostilities in India. The French fleet was thrice defeated, and French armies suffered reverses everywhere. French power never recovered from the blow.

QUESTIONS

1. How did the French fare in the First Carnatic War?
2. What were the causes of the Second Carnatic War? How did it affect Chanda Sahib and Muzzafar Jang?
3. How did the French lose the Third Carnatic War? What were its results?

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THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL

Siraj-ud-daulah. After the invasion of Nadir Shah the old Mughul Empire gradually declined and there was confusion and disorder everywhere. When Alivardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, died, Siraj-ud-daulah, son of the youngest of the Nawab's three daughters, came to the throne.

Siraj-ud-daulah

The new Nawab wrote a letter to the Governor of Calcutta, calling on him to demolish the additional fortifications that had been erected there to protect Fort William. As the English took no notice of this, he marched on Calcutta with a large army and captured it. It is stated that 150 English were imprisoned in a small room, known as the "Black Hole of Calcutta". Most of the prisoners died of suffocation. To-day, this story is discredited. The Madras Council promptly came to the rescue of Bengal, and sent Clive and Admiral Watson with a well-equipped army and navy. They recaptured Calcutta, practically without a struggle. In 1757, Siraj-ud-daulah signed the Treaty of Alinagar, conceding almost all the demands of the English.

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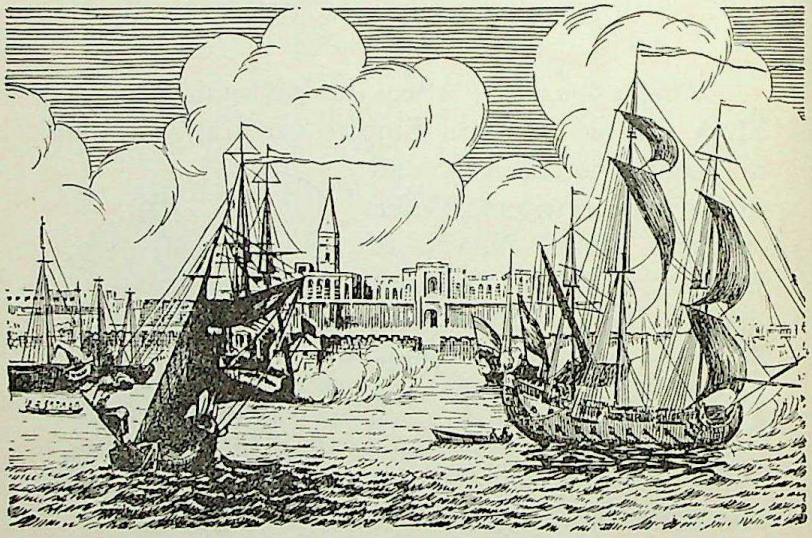

Fort William, Calcutta

During the Third Carnatic War, Siraj-ud-daulah protested that the English had broken the Treaty of Alinagar by attacking Chandernagore, and actually gave shelter to French fugitives at his court. The English therefore decided to place his general Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal in his stead. A treaty was accordingly drawn up between the English, Mir Jafar and a rich banker named Jagat Seth. At the last moment, Omichand, the intermediary, also asked for a share of the plunder. To satisfy him, Clive gave him a copy of the treaty promising to pay him a rich reward for his services.

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The English forces under Clive marched against the Nawab, who was assisted by a small French force, and defeated him near Plassey in June 1757. Siraj-ud-daulah fled, but was captured. The battle of Plassey was the first step in the conquest of Bengal and India by the English. From now on, they gradually became the most powerful rulers in India. The Marathas, the only other strong power in the country, had not yet recovered from the defeat they had suffered at the Third Battle of Panipat against Ahmad Shah Abdalli.

Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar was then proclaimed Nawab. He undertook to give the Company a large sum of money, and bestowed on Clive the *zamindari* of the territory known as the Twenty-four Parganas.

Mir Jafar

Though Mir Jafar was the Nawab, the real control over the affairs of Bengal now passed into the hands of Clive, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal in 1758. He ruled for three years.

Dissatisfied with this state of affairs, Mir Jafar entered into a conspiracy with the Dutch, who were only too anxious to take the place of the English. Clive, however, defeated the Dutch at Bedara in 1759, and put an end to their designs once for all.

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The following year he returned to England and was succeeded by Vansittart as Governor of Bengal.

Mir Kasim. Vansittart decided to place Mir Kasim, the Nawab's son-in-law, on the throne of Bengal, because of Mir Jafar's conspiracy and his failure to give the Company the sum of money he had promised. Vansittart ordered Mir Jafar to appoint Mir Kasim Deputy Nawab of Bengal, but Mir Jafar abdicated instead. Mir Kasim thus became Nawab in 1760 without bloodshed. He rewarded the English by giving them the wealthy provinces of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, and made rich presents to the servants of the East India Company.

Mir Kasim

Mir Kasim, however, soon tired of British control. When he was strong enough, he protested against the abuses that were rife among the Company's servants in the matter of tolls or transit duties. By an Imperial *firman*, the Company enjoyed the right to trade in Bengal without paying any dues to its ruler. The servants of the Company also claimed this right for themselves as individuals, and amassed huge fortunes in illegal profits, while the Nawab lost a large amount of

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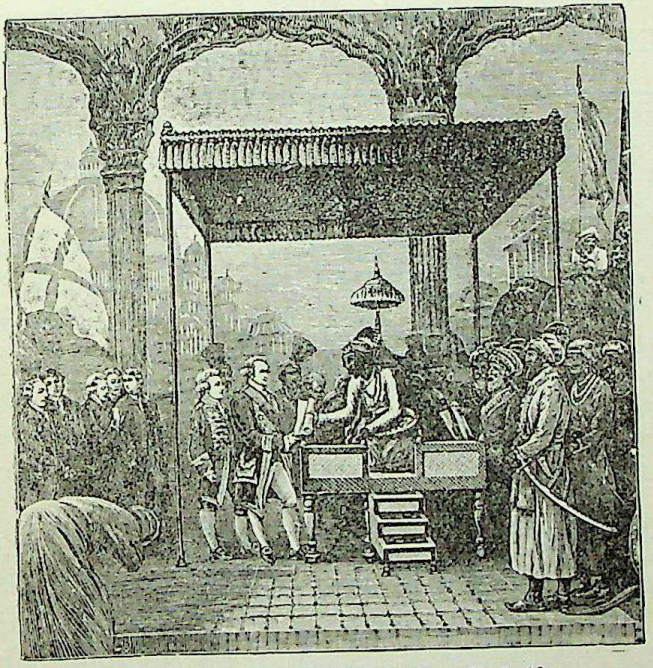

Clive receiving Diwani of Bengal from Shah Alam

revenue. The dispute finally led to war with the English. Though he had an army of 15,000 well-equipped and well-trained soldiers, Mir Kasim met with several defeats, notably at Monghyr and Murshidabad. He then fled to Patna, and made an alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, and Shah Alam II, the Mughul Emperor. Their combined armies were, however, signally defeated at the battle of Buxar in 1764. Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-daulah made peace, and Mir Kasim fled and died soon after.

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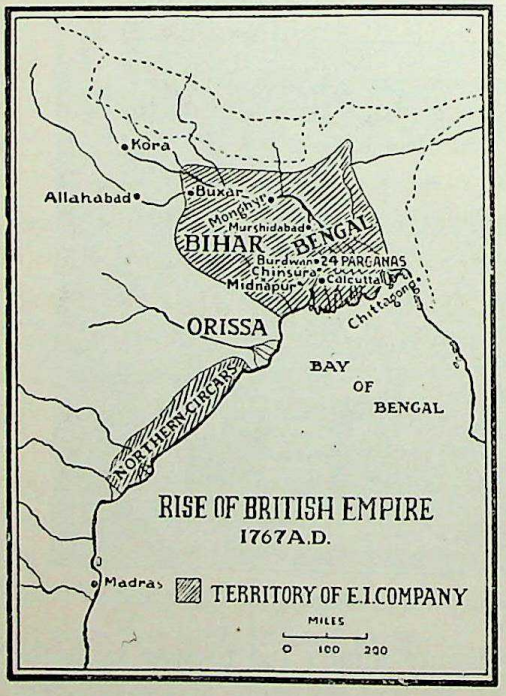
Diwani of Bengal. When war broke out with Mir Kasim, the English once again proclaimed Mir Jafar Nawab of Bengal. On the latter's death in 1765, they made his son Nawab, on condition that the control of the administration should be in their hands.



Establishment of British Power

In 1765 Clive returned to India. He made the Treaty of Allahabad with Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-daulah, by which Oudh was restored to Shuja-ud-daulah on payment of Rs. 50 lakhs, and Allahabad and the surrounding tracts to Shah Alam who in return granted to the East India Company the *Diwani* or revenue administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Clive also checked abuses among the servants of the Company and stopped them receiving presents in return for special favours. He cut

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down the *batta* or double allowance that the military had been receiving.

Estimate of Clive. Clive left India for the last time in 1767. He was one of the greatest Englishmen who ever served in India. By his military genius and his administrative ability he laid the foundations of the British power in India. Unfortunately, he was often unscrupulous. The means he adopted to gain his ends were not always strictly honest. The only excuse that can be made for him is that in his time the standards in such matters were everywhere rather low.

SUMMARY

Siraj-ud-daulah quarrelled with the English because they fortified the town of Calcutta. They defeated and dethroned him, and made Mir Jafar Nawab. Mir Jafar, however, intrigued with the Dutch and therefore had to abdicate in favour of Mir Kasim. The latter also combined with Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Alam II against the English. The allies were defeated, and the Company secured the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim.
2. How did the English secure the *Diwani* of Bengal?
3. Give a brief estimate of Robert Clive.

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ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH POWER

HASTINGS AND THE MARATHAS

Clive's Successors. Clive's successor in the Governorship of Bengal was Verelst (1767-1769), who was followed by Cartier (1769-1772). Their rule was both brief and unimportant. In 1772 Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal. With him opened a new phase in the history of the English in India.

Warren Hastings

The Regulating Act. When the Company acquired control over the kingdom of Bengal, statesmen in England felt that it was taking on responsibilities for which it was not fitted. Its business was to trade, not to administer a large area of India. Therefore, in 1773, when the Company asked for a loan of one million pounds, Parliament advanced the money but took the opportunity to pass the Regulating Act, which changed the constitution of the Company both in India and in England, and

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introduced Parliamentary supervision over its affairs. This was the first step in the British Parliament's control over the Company. The Act made the Governor of Bengal the Governor-General and gave him a Council of four members. The Governor-General in Council could control the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras in matters relating to war and peace. The first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and his Council were named in the Act. It also introduced changes in the Company's Court of Directors in England.

The Act gave power to the Crown to establish a Supreme Court of Justice. This led to many complications, because the new Court came into conflict with existing courts of law. Its relations with the Council were also not properly defined. It was not clear how far the Court could control the Company's employees. Above all, it was not clear what law the Court was to administer—English or Indian.

First Maratha War. The English in Bombay agreed to help Ragunath Rao, better known as Raghoba, the Maratha Peshwa, against Nana Fadnavis, who headed a powerful party at Poona, the seat of the Maratha government. They signed the Treaty of Surat in 1775, by which Raghoba promised to cede to them Salsette, Bassein and a part of the revenues of the Broach and Surat districts. The English and Raghoba then defeated the Poona troops at Arras. The Bombay Government, however, had acted without the consent of the Council

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in Calcutta, who sent Colonel Upton to Poona, where he signed in 1776 the Treaty of Purandhar, by which the earlier Treaty of Surat was annulled. The English received Salsette and the revenues of Broach and Rs. 12 lakhs as expenses for the campaign.

Bombay was thus overruled by Calcutta. To make matters worse, the Court of Directors hesitated, and their vague instructions encouraged Bombay. In 1779 Bombay sent an armed force under Colonel Cockburn against Nana Fadnavis, who was assisted by the Maratha chief, Mahadaji Sindhia. The English were disastrously defeated at Telegaon and Cockburn signed the disgraceful Treaty of Wadgaon, by which all the territories acquired by the British since 1773 were to be surrendered to the Marathas. Warren Hastings did not accept this treaty, and immediately put strong British armies in the field to attack the Marathas. The latter opened negotiations and finally signed the Treaty of Salbai in 1782, by which the English received Salsette, while Raghoba was pensioned off.

Though the British did not gain much territory by this treaty, it marked an important stage in British supremacy in India. For twenty years after the treaty they were at peace with the Marathas, and were thus able to defeat Tippu Sultan and the French, and to bring the Nizam and the Nawab of Oudh under their power.

In the meantime, the Madras Government, also

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acting with no authority but its own, got into trouble. It made an alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas against Hyder Ali. The alliance was of no help to the English, but only made an enemy of Hyder. The Court of Directors severely reprimanded the Madras authorities.

Nanda Kumar. Nanda Kumar, the Faujdar of Hugli, who had been deprived by Hastings of his house and property, accused the Governor-General of taking bribes. Hastings refused to meet the charges before the Council. In the meantime, a Calcutta merchant accused Nanda Kumar of forgery, and the Supreme Court tried and executed him. Nanda Kumar did not receive a fair trial, partly because the English law, under which forgery was a capital crime, was not operative in India. This was one of the injustices for which the faulty institution of the Supreme Court was to blame.

The Ruhelas. The Nawab of Oudh signed a treaty with the Ruhelas, whose country, Ruhelkhand, was to the northwest of Oudh, and promised to assist them in case of invasion by the Marathas. In return the Ruhelas agreed to pay him Rs. 40 lakhs. In 1773 the Marathas invaded Ruhelkhand and were driven off by the combined armies of Oudh and the English.

The Nawab of Oudh next demanded the Rs. 40 lakhs, which the Ruhelas refused to pay. Combined British and Oudh armies then attacked Ruhelkhand, killed the Ruhela chief and drove

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about 20,000 of the inhabitants away beyond the Ganges. Hastings has been blamed for having attacked a free people and consented to all kinds of atrocities against them. His excuse was that he was bound by treaty to help the Nawab of Oudh.

Chait Singh. Warren Hastings has also been criticized for his dealings with Chait Singh, Raja of Banaras. In 1775 the latter placed himself under British protection, agreeing to pay Rs. 22½ lakhs. Hastings made more than one additional demand and, when the Raja was not able to meet them, Hastings had him arrested.

Chait Singh's men revolted and killed three English officers and a number of sepoys. Hastings promptly suppressed the revolt, expelled Chait Singh from his kingdom, and conferred the throne on his nephew, who agreed to pay Rs. 40 lakhs.

The Begums of Oudh. After the death of Shuja-ud-daulah, the administration of Oudh became weak and inefficient. His son and successor, Asaf-ud-daulah, fell in arrears with his dues to the Company, and suggested that the English should recover them from the Begums of Oudh, the deceased Nawab's mother and widow, who had inherited great wealth. Accordingly, in 1781, a contingent of British troops was sent to Oudh and compelled the Begums to surrender their wealth. The Governor-General's excuse was that they were intriguing with Chait Singh. During the last years of his rule,

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however, he restored part of their *jagirs* to the Begums.

Pitt's India Bill. Parliament at last realized that the Regulating Act was defective. Under it the Governor-General and his Council were constantly opposing one another. Accordingly, in 1784, Parliament passed Pitt's India Bill. The Governor-General's Council was reduced to three, and the power of the Governor-General in Council over Bombay and Madras was clearly defined. Parliament also established a Board of Control, consisting of six Commissioners appointed by the Crown, to supervise the Court of Directors in regard to civil and military administration.

Estimate of Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings was one of the greatest Governors-General of India. He was a man of rare ability, and completed the work that Clive had begun of establishing an empire in India. Though he was a capable administrator, his methods were not above reproach. His dealings with Raja Chait Singh, Nanda Kumar and the Begums of Oudh can hardly be justified on any count. His conduct was so open to question that he was impeached on his return to England, and his opponents pressed the charges against him so strongly that the trial lasted eight years. Though he was finally acquitted, his defence cost him a large sum of money, and the ordeal left its mark on him.

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SUMMARY

In 1773 the Regulating Act was passed, by which a Governor-General of India was appointed with a Council of four members. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, came in conflict with the Marathas. The Bombay Government and the Supreme Council in Calcutta took opposite sides, and much confusion resulted, until a settlement was made by the Treaty of Salbai. Hastings was severely criticized for his treatment of Nanda Kumar, the Ruhelas, Raja Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh. In 1784 Parliament passed Pitt's India Bill, establishing its control over the affairs of the Company. Hastings was impeached by Parliament for his conduct in India.

QUESTIONS

1. Why was Hastings criticized for his dealings with Nanda Kumar, the Ruhelas and Raja Chait Singh? What were his excuses?
2. How did Hastings treat the Begums of Oudh?
3. Why was the Regulating Act a failure?
4. What was the chief result of Pitt's India Bill?

AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH

Rise of Hyder Ali. The rise of Hyder Ali in the kingdom of Mysore proved to be a source of great danger to the English in India. He was an uneducated and illiterate adventurer, who entered the service of the Prime Minister of Mysore as a common soldier. He rose to be Commander-in-Chief, and finally made himself the dictator of Mysore.

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First Mysore War. The other chief ruling authorities in the south did not approve of Hyder Ali's rise to power. The English, the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad formed a triple alliance against him in 1767. They attacked and defeated him at Changama and Trinomali. Two years later, Hyder Ali made good his losses. He defeated the Bombay troops, reconquered Mangalore and encamped within five miles of Madras.

Hyder Ali

A peace treaty was signed at Madras. It provided for exchange of prisoners, the return of conquered territory and an offensive and defensive alliance.

Second Mysore War. But not long afterwards when the Marathas attacked Hyder Ali, the English did not go to his assistance. They were fighting with the French, from whom they captured the settlement of Mahé. Hyder Ali, who depended on Mahé for his military supplies, made an alliance with the Nizam and the French, and attacked the British. The latter were sorely pressed; in the words of Warren Hastings, there was "a war, actual

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or impending, in every quarter and with every power in Hindustan".

Hyder Ali descended upon the English with about 80,000 men and 100 guns, and seized Arcot. As he received no support from the Marathas and the Nizam, the English defeated him in 1781 at Porto Novo. They captured Negapatam and also Trincomali, in Ceylon, from the Dutch. The following year Hyder Ali died of cancer.

Hyder Ali was a skilful general and a just ruler, who looked after the welfare of his state. Though a strict Muslim, he treated Hindus with great toleration. He was the first Indian ruler to foresee the rise of the British as a power in India. If he had been supported, perhaps the English might not have succeeded in building an empire in India.

His son, Tippu Sultan, continued the war. He captured Brigadier Mathews and all his men in 1783. Colonel Fullarton took Coimbatore later in the same year. As the Madras Government did not wish to prolong the war, the Treaty of Mangalore was signed in 1784, by which prisoners were set free and conquests returned.

SUMMARY

In the First Mysore War, the English, the Nizam and the Marathas, fearing Hyder Ali's rise to power, were the aggressors. They were at first victorious, and defeated Hyder Ali at Madras. In the Second Mysore War, Hyder Ali, together with the French and the Nizam, fought against

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the English who had not kept their promise to support him when he was attacked by the Marathas. Hyder Ali was defeated, but his son Tippu Sultan made good his losses. The treaties of Madras and Mangalore did not bring about great political changes.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a brief note on Hyder Ali.
2. Why was the First Mysore War fought? How did it end?
3. What do you know of the Second Mysore War?

POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION

Appointment of Lord Cornwallis. When Warren Hastings left India, John Macpherson, senior member of the Council, succeeded him as temporary Governor-General. In 1786 Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General. He was made independent of his Council, and was instructed to avoid interfering with the Indian princes. He nevertheless became involved in the Third Mysore War.

Lord Cornwallis

Third Mysore War. The immediate cause of the war was Tippu Sultan's

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attack on Travancore in 1789. The Raja of Travancore appealed to the British for assistance, and Cornwallis formed another triple alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam against him.

The war lasted three years. After some indecisive fighting, Cornwallis personally assumed command of the British troops, captured Bangalore and came within nine miles of Tippu's capital, Seringapatam. After a brief lull during the monsoon, fighting was resumed. Tippu captured Coimbatore, and Cornwallis occupied hill-forts near Seringapatam, and attacked the capital's outworks.

Tippu Sultan then sued for peace, and signed the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, by which he lost half his territory and had to pay £ 3,000,000.

Reforms. Besides waging war, Cornwallis introduced important administrative changes. It was during his term of office that the Permanent Revenue Settlement was established in Bengal. It was so called because it fixed the land revenue once for all and made the revenue collectors masters of the land. But it had many defects. Though it formed a class of land-holders who gave the State a steady income, it prevented the Government from raising the revenue, and so deprived it of a large income from the land. On the other hand, it denied to the peasant the right to possess his land, and placed him at the mercy of the *zamindar* or revenue collector, who benefited most by this reform.

Cornwallis improved the Civil Service by em-

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ploying men of a more capable and honest type and seeing that they were properly paid. They had previously received a small salary, commissions on revenue, and profits from private trade. They naturally used their position to promote their own interests. Cornwallis persuaded the Directors to give higher salaries to their Civil Servants and put an end to these abuses.

Lord Cornwallis thus introduced a system which later became the Covenanted Civil Service. Till now the Collector had been the sole authority in the district. His duties were many, and he had great powers. Cornwallis appointed Special District Judges for the judicial work which had till then been done by the Collectors. He divided the provinces into districts and placed the administrative work in a district in the charge of two British officers —a Collector of revenue and a Judge.

Affairs in Oudh. Sir John Shore was Governor-General from 1793 to 1798. In 1794 Asaf-ud-daulah, Nawab of Oudh, died, and there was a dispute over the succession between Wazir Ali and Sa'adat Ali. Sir John intervened in the dispute and placed the latter on the throne. The new ruler agreed to his subsidy being raised to Rs. 76 lakhs, and ceded to the English the fort of Allahabad, "the military key of the province". Wazir Ali was allowed to live at Banaras, on an annual subsidy of Rs. 1½ lakhs.

Non-intervention. Except for Oudh, Sir John

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avoided interfering in the affairs of Indian princes in accordance with instructions from the Directors of the Company. The result was that British power and prestige suffered considerably.

The Marathas became active again; Tippu Sultan began to intrigue with the French and the Afghans; elsewhere, civil war broke out, followed by confusion and unrest.

SUMMARY

Lord Cornwallis was instructed not to interfere with the Indian princes, but he became involved in the Third Mysore War. The English defeated Tippu Sultan, who sued for peace and lost half his territory. Cornwallis also introduced the Permanent Revenue Settlement and the Covenanted Civil Service.

As soon as he became Governor-General, Sir John Shore settled the succession to the throne of Oudh, making Sa'adat Ali the Nawab. Except for this, he adhered to the policy of non-intervention, as a result of which British prestige suffered.

QUESTIONS

1. What led to the Third Mysore War? How did it end?
2. What internal reforms did Cornwallis introduce? What were the effects of the Permanent Revenue Settlement?
3. How did Sir John settle the succession to the throne of Oudh?
4. What were the results of the policy of non-intervention?

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EXPANSION OF BRITISH POWER

WELLESLEY AND THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

Conditions in India. The new Governor-General, Richard Colley Wellesley, had experience of Indian affairs before he came to India. He was thirty-seven years of age at the time of his appointment, a brilliant scholar and clever administrator. He was one of the greatest Governors-General of India. His younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, who was also in India, afterwards became famous as the Duke of Wellington.

Lord Wellesley

Conditions in India were not bright for the English when Lord Wellesley arrived. The non-intervention policy of his predecessors had failed. British influence in the country had been steadily decreasing. Tippu Sultan, the Nizam and the Marathas had become powerful and hostile.

To avenge himself on the English, Tippu had

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sent ambassadors to make alliances with Arabia, Kabul, Constantinople, Mauritius and France. The French actually announced their alliance with the ruler of Mysore, and Tippu planted the "Tree of Liberty" at Seringapatam. Some French troops even landed at Mangalore about the time that Wellesley came to India.

Subsidiary Alliances. The new Governor-General followed the policy of making subsidiary alliances with Indian rulers. When an Indian state accepted such an alliance, it (1) came under the control of the British, (2) could not wage war or make treaties with any other Indian or foreign power without the consent of the British, (3) had to cede territory or pay money to keep an army for its protection and (4) had to send away all other European officers from its territory.

The Nizam. The Nizam of Hyderabad was on friendly terms with the French when Wellesley arrived. The latter persuaded him to sign a subsidiary treaty in 1798 and to pay for a force of six battalions. Two years later, the Nizam signed a second treaty by which the subsidiary force was increased; he also surrendered all the territories he had received in the Mysore Wars.

Fourth Mysore War. After the Nizam came the turn of Tippu who had no intention of keeping the peace. War broke out, and in 1799 General James Stuart defeated Tippu at Sedasser, 72 km west of Seringapatam, and General Harris defeated him at

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Malvelly, 48 km east of Seringapatam. A month later, Seringapatam was captured and Tippu died gallantly defending his capital.

Unlike his father, Tippu was well educated, could speak Persian, Kanarese and Urdu and had a valuable library. He was a valiant soldier and a good administrator.

Tippu Sultan

The English placed on the throne a mere boy who was descended from the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. He ceded Kanara, Wynaad, Coimbatore, Darapuram and Seringapatam to them and agreed to pay an annual subsidy for a British army.

Oudh. Wellesley next tried to make the Nawab of Oudh accept a subsidiary alliance. The latter was at first not willing to do so. Eventually, in 1801, he signed a treaty accepting British protection in return for which he made over Gorakhpur and parts of Ruhelkhand.

Second Maratha War. As quarrels broke out among the Maratha chiefs, the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, appealed to Wellesley for help and signed the Treaty of Bassein in 1802. By this treaty he gave

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tracts of land yielding Rs. 26 lakhs annually for the support of a British subsidiary force in his domains.

The other Maratha chiefs realized that the treaty meant the loss of national independence, and began to prepare for war. But when Sindhia of Gwalior and Raghuji Bhonsle II of Nagpur had raised nearly 300,000 men against the British, who had only 55,000, Holkar stood aloof. Had all the chiefs been united, they might have been victorious.

Arthur Wellesley led the British forces in the Deccan, and General Lake led the forces in Hindustan. In the Deccan, Wellesley won victories at Assaye and Argaon; in Hindustan, Lake captured Delhi and Agra, and routed the forces of Sindhia outside Delhi and at Laswari.

Five months after the war had begun, the two Maratha chiefs sued for peace. Bhonsle signed the Treaty of Deogaon, ceding Cuttack and all territory west of the river Wardha. Sindhia signed the Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon, by which he surrendered all his territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, to the north of Rajputana and to the west of the Ajanta Hills. The following year he agreed to maintain a subsidiary force on his frontier.

Holkar, who had kept aloof, now entered the field. He defeated Colonel Monson, but later had to sue for peace, and gave up Tonk, Rampura, Bundi, Kooch, Bundelkhand and places north of the Chambal.

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The Carnatic. Certain documents were found which proved that Omdut-ul-Umara, the Nawab of the Carnatic, had been intriguing with Tippu. On the Nawab's death in 1801, Wellesley set aside the claims of his son, Ali Hussain, and made his nephew, Azim-ud-daulah, the new Nawab. He was allowed one-fifth of the revenue, but the entire administration was taken over by the Company.

Tanjore and Surat. In 1779 Wellesley took over the administration of both Tanjore and Surat. In Tanjore a dispute arose over the succession. Thereupon Wellesley took control of the civil and military administration and pensioned off the Raja. In Surat the Nawab had not been able to pay the expenses of the British garrison that had been entrusted with his country's defence. When the Nawab died, Wellesley annexed the state.

The shareholders of the Company did not approve of Lord Wellesley's policy, chiefly because the number of wars he undertook greatly increased expenses. The Directors therefore recalled him and sent Lord Cornwallis to India a second time, with instructions not to interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes.

Estimate of Wellesley. Lord Wellesley was a great Governor-General. He made the English the most important power in India by introducing the subsidiary system. The system had been criticized because it overruled the rights of local rulers, but it made one power supreme in the country and thus

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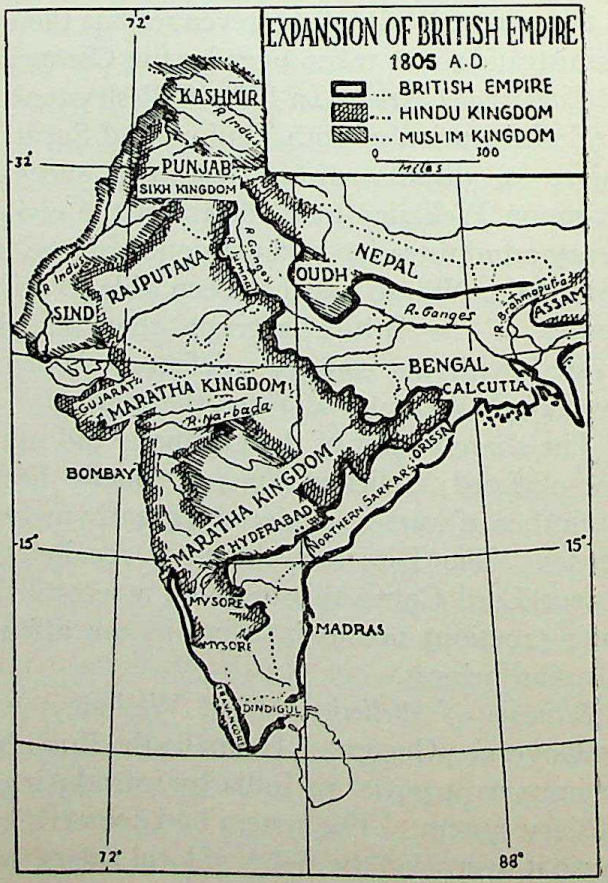
brought order and good government. Wellesley also stopped money-lending by the servants of the Company, prohibited the sacrifice of children in the Ganges, and made an inquiry into the evil practice of *sati*.



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SUMMARY

Lord Wellesley had a distinguished career before he became Governor-General. He followed a policy of subsidiary alliances and made the English supreme in India again. He brought the Nizam under British control and next fought with Tippu, who died defending his capital. Mysore thus came under British protection. Oudh also was persuaded to accept a subsidiary alliance. In his conflict with the Marathas, he defeated in turn Baji Rao, Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar. Wellesley also took over the administration of the Carnatic and annexed Tanjore and Surat on various pretexts.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the fall of Tippu.
2. How did Wellesley subdue the Maratha chiefs?
3. How were Oudh, Tanjore and Surat annexed?
4. Give an estimate of Lord Wellesley.

POLICY OF ALLIANCES

Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis landed in India in 1805, fully determined to carry out a policy of non-intervention, in accordance with the instructions he had received from the Directors of the Company. On his arrival, he immediately set out to make peace with Sindhia and Holkar, who were being hard pressed by General Lake. But before he could do anything in the matter he died at Ghazipur, only three months after his arrival in India.

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Sir George Barlow. On the sudden death of Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow, senior member of the Council, became Governor-General. Barlow adopted the policy of non-intervention that Lord Cornwallis had been instructed to follow. In spite of the protests of General Lake, he made peace with Sindhia and Holkar. Again, though the Rajputs had rendered great service to the English in the past, he refused to interfere when the Marathas raided Rajputana. He tried to avoid war, but was forced to have recourse to arms in southern India.

Vellore Mutiny. In 1806 a mutiny broke out at Vellore. The sepoys were ordered to wear a kind of hat instead of a turban, to trim their beards and not to wear ear-rings or have caste marks on their foreheads. They mistook these orders, which were meant to improve their appearance, for an attempt to interfere with their religion. They revolted and killed 113 European members of the garrison.

Colonel Gillespie went from Arcot to the relief of Vellore, and in the fighting that took place 400 sepoys were killed. The government punished the ringleaders and removed to Calcutta the members of Tippu Sultan's family, who were supposed to have been implicated in the conspiracy. The Governor of Madras and the local Commander-in-Chief were recalled to England.

Lord Minto. Like his immediate predecessor,

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Lord Minto came to India determined not to interfere in the affairs of the Indian princes. But when he arrived, he found that such a policy would harm the Company's interests in India. He succeeded in convincing the authorities in England of the mistake of a policy of pure non-intervention.

Bundelkhand. Soon after his arrival, trouble broke out in Bundelkhand, where bands of robbers roamed the country bent on plunder. Lord Minto succeeded in defeating several of the robber chieftains and captured some of their strongholds, including Ajaigarh and Kalinjar. As a result, peace returned to some part of the country.

Alliance with Ranjit Singh. Lord Minto made an alliance with Ranjit Singh, ruler of the small Sikh state to the west of the Sutlej. In 1806, the chiefs of some of these states had quarrelled amongst themselves and had invited Ranjit Singh to settle their disputes. Ranjit Singh promptly crossed the river with intent to annex the states. The Sikhs then appealed to Lord Minto, who sent Charles Metcalfe on a mission to the Punjab.

Metcalfe acted with great tact and courtesy, and finally, in 1807, persuaded Ranjit Singh to enter into an agreement with the British, who acknowledged him head of the states west of the Sutlej, but kept to themselves the control of the states situated between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

Mission to Persia. Napoleon had sent a mission

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to Persia to induce the Shah to help French designs on India. To counteract Napoleon's move, Lord Minto sent John Malcolm to negotiate with the Persian government. The home government, however, sent another envoy, Sir Herford James.

There was at first some confusion, but finally the Indian government accepted the treaty concluded by Sir Herford with the Shah, by which the latter agreed to dismiss the French ambassador and resist the passage of a European force marching on India. In return Britain promised the Shah assistance in men and money if a European power should invade his country.

Embassy to Kabul. Lord Minto next sent Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kabul, but he did not reach the city. Shah Shuja, Amir of Afghanistan, met him at Peshawar and agreed to oppose the French and the Persians if they attempted to march through his country into India. Before Elphinstone returned, a rebellion broke out and the rebels deprived Shah Shuja of his throne.

The Amirs of Sind, however, signed a treaty, promising to oppose any attempt on the part of the French to march on India.

Expedition to Java. The English took advantage of the war between England and France to occupy the possessions of France and her allies in the East. In 1811 Lord Minto sent an expedition to Java, the last Dutch possession in the East. A fleet of 90 ships, carrying 12,000 troops under Sir Samuel Auchmuty,

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assembled at Malacca. Lord Minto himself accompanied the expedition, though not in command. Napoleon had sent General Jansens to command the 17,000 troops on the island. After a brief engagement, Jansens surrendered.

These good services rendered by Lord Minto did not go unrecognized. He was created an Earl, and sailed for England in 1813, after having been Governor-General for six years. He died within a few months of his return.

SUMMARY

Lord Cornwallis arrived in India with instructions not to interfere in the affairs of Indian princes. He died three months after his arrival. He was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, who made peace with the Marathas. He put down the Vellore Mutiny, in which sepoys revolted and killed 113 Europeans. Lord Minto, the next Governor-General, persuaded the authorities in England that pure non-intervention was unwise. He therefore intervened in various disputes, brought about peace in Bundelkhand and the Punjab and sent missions to Persia, Kabul and Sind, all of which were successful. He sent a successful expedition to Java.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of the Vellore Mutiny.
2. How did Lord Minto win over Ranjit Singh?
3. What was the outcome of Lord Minto's mission to Persia?
4. Describe Minto's Java Expedition.

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ACTIVE INTERFERENCE

The Marquess of Hastings. Though the Earl of Moira, better known as the Marquess of Hastings, had been opposed to the policy of Lord Wellesley, he soon found out on his arrival that active interference in Indian affairs was necessary if Britain was to rule in India. Lord Minto's term of office had been largely peaceful, but when Lord Hastings became Governor-General, there was trouble everywhere. The Gurkhas of Nepal attacked Oudh, the Marathas under Baji Rao tried to organize themselves against the British, the Pindaris began to ravage and plunder the plains of Central India, and Rajputana was the scene of civil strife. The new Governor-General accordingly followed a policy of active interference and succesfully met each and every one of these threats to British power.

Lord Hastings

The Gurkhas. Lord Hastings first came into conflict with the Gurkhas, a tribe of the western Himalayas, who had built up a powerful state in

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the Nepal valley. During the early nineteenth century, they began to make inroads into British territory, and in the time of Lord Minto they captured some districts, which were later regained by the British without open hostilities.

In 1814 they made a fresh attack. Hastings declared war and fell upon the enemy along the entire line from the Sutlej to the Kosi. During the early part of the campaign, the British met with reverses, but later they defeated the Gurkhas who then made peace.

The Gurkhas signed the Treaty of Segauli in 1815. Hostilities were, however, re-opened and General Ochterlony marched to within fifty miles of Khatmandu, the capital, and defeated the Gurkhas at Makwanpur in 1816. As a result the treaty was ratified, and the districts of Garhwal, Kumaon and Sikkim, and the hill-stations of Simla, Mussoorie, Almora and Naini Tal were ceded. A British Residency was opened at Khatmandu. From that time onward the Gurkhas remained friendly to the British.

Suppression of Pindaris. Robber bands of Pindaris and Pathans were creating confusion and anarchy in Central India. Their object was plunder, but they indulged in horrible cruelty. They generally avoided pitched battles.

Hastings assembled 113,000 men and 300 guns, and attacked them. Within a year he

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expelled the Pindaris from Central India, and gradually subdued them.

Hastings also detached Amir Khan, the most powerful of the Pathan chiefs, from the rest of the robber bands and recognized him as the Nawab of Tonk. The other gangs, under smaller chiefs, then disappeared and peace was finally restored to Central India.

Maratha Confederacy. Baji Rao II tried to unite the Maratha states into a confederacy against the British. Gangadhar Shastri, Chief Minister of Gaikwar and a friend of the British, was sent to Poona to settle some disputes and was murdered at the instance of Trimbakji Danglia, Baji Rao's favourite. The British made Baji Rao surrender Trimbakji, who was placed in confinement. The Peshwa increased his efforts to organize against the British, and actually opened negotiations with the Pathan chief, Amir Khan, and the Pindaris. Lord Hastings therefore induced the Marathas to sign three separate treaties at Poona, Nagpur and Gwalior.

Third Maratha War. But the Maratha chiefs were not yet prepared to give up their independence. The Peshwa took the first opportunity and sacked the British Residency at Poona, and with a force of 27,000 men attacked a British army of 2,800 at Kirkee. Appa Saheb of Nagpur and Malhar Rao Holkar II also took up arms against the common foe. But the British forces prevailed in practi-

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cally every engagement that took place: at Kirkee, on the Sitabaldi hills, at Mahidpur, Ashti and Koregaon. In 1818 Baji Rao surrendered.

The Peshwaship was abolished, the Peshwa was given a yearly pension of eight lakhs, and his dominions were placed under British control. The Maratha Empire, which Shivaji the Great had built up, thus came to an end. Among the most important causes of its downfall was the lack of unity among the people of Maharashtra. The Marathas, moreover, had no other source of revenue than *chauth* and similar levies. There was neither agriculture nor industry among them. The rise of Maratha principalities also created disunity in their ranks, and hence weakened them. Their army could not win against the better-trained and better-equipped armies of the British.

Treaties with Rajputana. Rajputana, the home of chivalry and heroism, had fallen upon evil days. Internal strife had so weakened the Rajput chiefs that their country was being constantly raided by Marathas, Pathans and Pindaris. It was therefore easy for the British, after conquering the more important Indian powers, to make treaties with the Rajputs and bring them under their control. By 1823 Lord Hastings had made alliances with Kotah, Udaipur, Bundi, Kishengarh, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Sirohi. British power now extended from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra.

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Reforms. Lord Hastings introduced several important legal reforms by which he simplified civil and criminal procedure. He passed measures to protect the rights of the peasants against the *zamindars*. During his time steps were taken to spread education among the people by establishing *madrasas*. In 1817 the first Hindu college was started at Calcutta, and about the same time the first vernacular newspaper was published by the missionaries of Serampore. He built roads, bridges and canals. The financial situation in India was stable, and peace and prosperity prevailed after the suppression of the Pindaris and the defeat of the Marathas and the Gurkhas.

First Burmese War. When Lord Amherst became Governor-General in 1823, British power was firmly established in India. The most important event in his reign was the First Burmese War.

Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Burmese began to give trouble to the East India Company. The Calcutta government tried unsuccessfully to settle matters by sending envoys to Burma, but the king of Burma was bent upon expanding his kingdom at the cost of the British. Finally the Burmese occupied Assam and took the island of Shahpuri near Chittagong.

Lord Amherst had no alternative but to declare war. He sent an expedition against the Burmese and after some severe fighting, captured Rangoon

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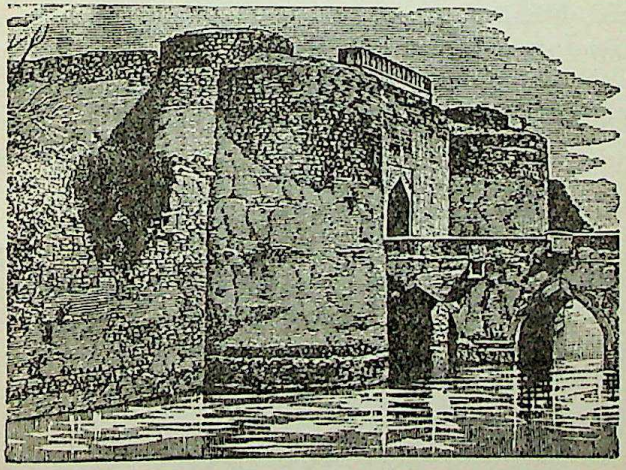
in 1824. The British also succeeded in taking Prome, the capital.

The Burmese signed the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826, by which they surrendered Arakan and Tenasserim, and promised to pay a crore of rupees and keep friendly with the British.

Minor Revolts in India. A few early reverses that the British met with in the Burmese campaign created the impression in India that British power was failing, and this led to several small revolts.



Fort Bharatpur

In Bharatpur the British were involved in a succession dispute which led to the attack on the fortress of Bharatpur and its surrender.

There was also a mutiny of the sepoys of Barrackpore, who did not want to go to Burma by ship

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lest they should lose caste. British soldiers opened fire on the mutineers on the parade ground and suppressed the revolt.

SUMMARY

Lord Hastings followed a policy of active interference to safeguard British power in India. He defeated the Gurkhas, suppressed the Pindaris, destroyed the Maratha power and made treaties of alliance with Rajput States. He introduced many important reforms, and the British became the most important rulers in India.

Lord Amherst waged war against the Burmese who had entered British territory. The British won most of the engagements and forced the Burmese to sign the Treaty of Yandaboo. He also suppressed two minor revolts at Bharatpur and Barrackpore.

QUESTIONS

1. How did Wellesley bring peace to Central India?
2. Give an account of the Fourth Maratha War. What were the chief causes of the downfall of the Marathas?
3. Write a note on the First Burmese War.
4. What were the two minor revolts during the time of Lord Amherst?

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PERIOD OF REFORMS

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

Raja Rammohan Roy. At about this time a great Indian reformer, named Raja Rammohan Roy, did much to improve the lot of his countrymen. He began by preaching a new form of Hindu-

Raja Rammohan Roy

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ism which attacked the ancient worship of images, and taught belief in one God. He published a number of papers and started an organization which later became the Brahma Samaj.

Rammohan also did a great deal for Indian women. He played an active part in preparing the ground for the suppression of *sati*, recommended widow-remarriage, opposed the marrying of more than one wife and tried to change the laws of inheritance in favour of women.

He also helped the cause of English education. Charles Grant, a civil servant of the Company, was one of the earliest to establish schools where the teaching was in English, but his efforts did not meet with success. It was the Christian missionaries who finally accomplished the task with the assistance of liberal-minded Indians such as Rammohan Roy.

He defended the cause of a free Press, and made petitions to the Supreme Council and the King-in-Council against rules that restricted the free expression of Indian opinion. He fought for the Indian peasants, and pointed out the evils of the Permanent Revenue Settlement by which peasants became poorer and *zamindars* became richer. He was the first to ask for self-rule for India, and was invited to put India's case before the House of Commons. He did not appear in person, but sent reports to the Board of Control.

Suppression of Sati. The next Governor-General was Lord William Bentinck. There was no major

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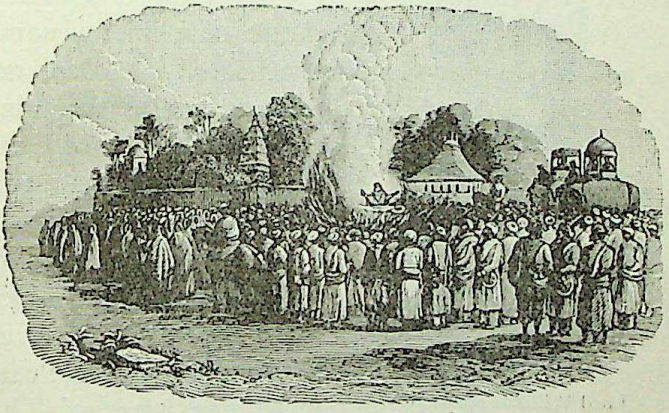
war in his time, and as there was peace in the country he had the opportunity of making important reforms. He forbade the practice of *sati*. The



Sati

burning of Hindu widows on the pyres of their dead husbands had been prevalent for centuries, and every year thousands of women lost their lives in this way.

Lord Bentinck first sounded the army on the subject, to make sure that there would be no sepoy rising in consequence. The *Nizamat Adalat*, the highest criminal court, was also in favour of suppressing the custom. Accordingly the Governor-General passed a law making *sati* a crime and those who encouraged it liable to punishment as murderers. The effect was immediate, and the practice soon disappeared from India.

Crushing the Thugs. The second important

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work of Bentinck was to crush the Thugs, who were a group of highwaymen bound together by unholy beliefs. They worshipped the goddess Kali. Thousands of persons, sometimes entire villages, belonged to this organization. They robbed and murdered on a large scale. They generally sent decoys to mix with travellers and, when an opportune moment arrived, they would strangle their victims with a scarf. Thus travelling became difficult and dangerous and trade and commerce suffered. The Thugs killed thousands of people—a single Thug confessed that he had a share in the murder of no less than 719 persons.

Lord William Bentinck

Major Sleeman was given the work of wiping out the Thugs. It took him nearly seven years, from 1831 to 1837, to accomplish the task. He captured more than 3,000 Thugs, who were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. At the end of Bentinck's rule Thuggee had ceased to exist in India.

Reforms. Lord Bentinck made an important change in the administration by appointing officials called Commissioners. He gave high posts to Indians, appointed Indian Judges and introduced

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many improvements in the judicial and revenue departments.

Under orders from the home government, Bentinck reduced the number of employees in the service of the Company, decreased their allowances and refused exemption from paying revenue to many Indians. He thus brought a surplus of nearly two crores of rupees to the Company's revenue. He also altered the revenue settlement of the North-West Frontier Province.

Spread of Education. For some time there had been a controversy as to whether Indian languages, Sanskrit and Persian or English should be the medium of instruction. Lord Macaulay was chiefly responsible for the decision to adopt English. One result of this was that English became a bond between Englishmen and Indians, and between educated Indians themselves, to whatever caste or creed they belonged. The government provided better facilities for education than hitherto, including the foundation of a college at Calcutta and the Elphinstone educational institution in Bombay, which later became the Elphinstone school and college.

Mysore and Coorg. Lord Wellesley's subsidiary alliances had their ill effects in the time of Bentinck. Some of these princes who were assured of the protection of the English army began to oppress their subjects. Bentinck therefore removed the rulers of Mysore and Coorg and took their states under British control.

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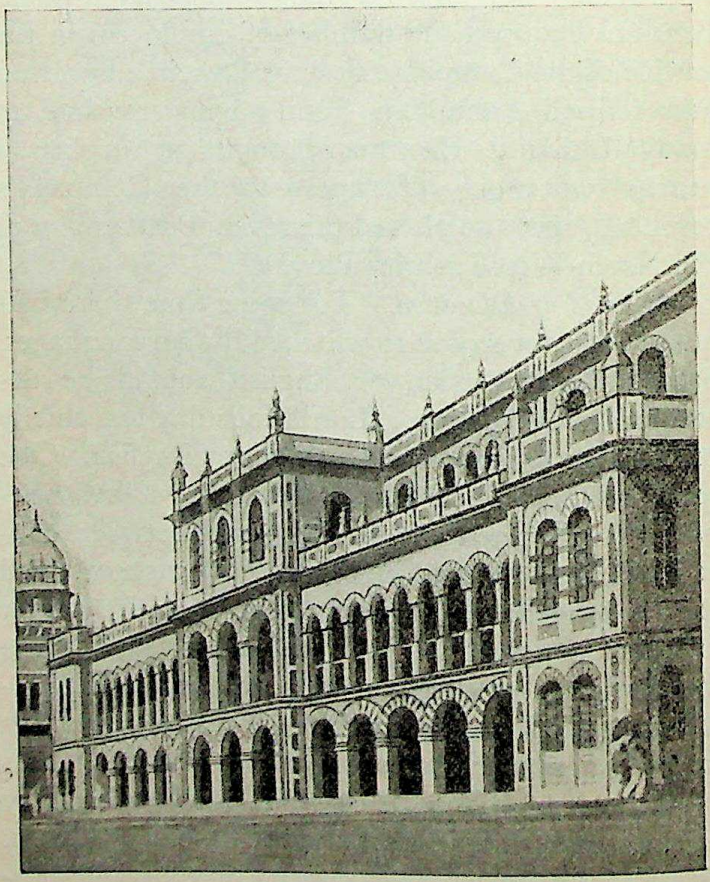
Estimate of Bentinck. Lord William Bentinck was one of the best Governors-General that India



The old College at Calcutta

ever had. He will be remembered for his sympathy for the people of India. He was simple in his habits and reserved in manner. He " never forgot

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that the end of government is the welfare of the governed".

Temporary Governor-General. Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, one of the ablest of the Company's officials in India, was appointed temporary Governor-General of India when Lord William Bentinck resigned.

Sir Charles Metcalfe

In 1835 Sir Charles passed the Act by which he made the Indian Press free. Until then vernacular papers had not been free to print what they liked because there were many restrictions. The Court of Directors did not approve of the measure and Sir Charles eventually resigned from the service. The Company thus lost one of its most capable servants.

SUMMARY

Lord William Bentinck introduced many reforms. He suppressed *sati*, crushed Thuggee, threw the public services open to Indians and established schools for the people of this country. He annexed Mysore and Coorg in the interests of the subjects. He was one of the greatest Governors-General of India.

Sir Charles Metcalfe temporarily succeeded Lord William Bentinck. He lost the favour of the Court of Directors by

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abolishing all restrictions on the Press in India, and resigned his post.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of Bentinck's social reforms.
2. What were the educational reforms introduced during the time of Bentinck?
3. Write a brief note on the work of Raja Rammohan Roy.
4. Why did Sir Charles Metcalfe resign?

ANNEXATION OF SIND AND GWALIOR

First Afghan War. The next Governor-General was Lord Auckland. The most important event in his time was the first Afghan War. In 1826 Dost Muhammad made himself King of Kabul. He therefore wrote to Lord Auckland in 1836, asking for assistance against the Sikhs and the Persians. As the Governor-General refused the request, Dost Muhammad began to negotiate with Persia and Russia. Lord Auckland was instructed to stop Russian progress in Afghanistan.

Dost Muhammad

Auckland sent Alexander Burnes to Dost Muhammad on a peace mission, which proved a

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failure. When the Amir persisted in seeking Russian help, Auckland signed the Tripartite Treaty with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, the deposed Afghan king, with the object of removing Dost Muhammad and placing Shah Shuja on the throne. The " army of the Indus " was accordingly assembled.

The allies occupied Kandahar, stormed Ghazni and captured Kabul, in quick succession. The British enthroned Shah Shuja in Kabul in place of Dost Muhammad, who had fled, and who surrendered to the British in 1840. The following year disturbances broke out. An Afghan mob murdered three English officers, and a revolt began under Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's son. The British commanders of the army in Kabul proved incapable of handling the situation.

In 1842 the British made a treaty and surrendered guns, muskets and ordnance stores, after which the British troops and camp followers set out on the return journey to India. They did not get far, however, because the Afghans slaughtered them on the way. The women and children and some officers were given to Akbar Khan as hostages. One week later, of the 16,500 men who had left Kabul, only one reached Jallalabad, while 120 other survivors were prisoners with Akbar Khan.

Lord Auckland was shattered by the appalling massacre. He tried to draw a veil over the terrible events. He sent General Pollock to Peshawar, while

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General Nott still held Kandahar. The Court of Directors recalled Auckland and sent Lord Ellenborough out in his place early in 1842.

Lord Ellenborough gave orders for the immediate withdrawal of British troops in Afghanistan. The British prisoners were rescued, the bazaar of Kabul was blown up, and the city itself was ruthlessly sacked by the army before it returned to India. The British released Dost Muhammad, who returned to Kabul and re-ascended the throne.

Annexation of Sind. War in Sind broke out soon after and as a consequence of the Anglo-Afghan conflict. The Amirs of Sind had signed a commercial treaty with Lord William Bentinck in 1832, to prevent Ranjit Singh's ambitious designs in their territory. In 1838 Lord Auckland sent a British Resident to Sind and took the Amirs under British protection because Ranjit Singh was once more bent on seizing their territory.

On the outbreak of the Afghan War the British took an armed force through Sind, contrary to the terms of the treaty of 1832. In 1839 Lord Auckland compelled the Amirs to sign a new treaty, by which they had to pay a yearly tribute of Rs. 3 lakhs for a subsidiary force to be stationed in their dominion. Later, on the plea that they were disloyal, the Amirs were told that they would have to sign a third treaty ceding territory in place of the tribute. They were also forbidden to mint money, which was thenceforth issued by the British Government.

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Before the Amirs had signed this third treaty, war broke out. Sir Charles Napier defeated the Baluchis and the Amirs made their submission. Sind was formally annexed, and the Amirs were exiled.

Sir Charles Napier

Affairs in Gwalior. While Lord Ellenborough was mainly concerned with affairs in Afghanistan and Sind, just before his term ended his attention was called to Gwalior, where there was trouble. At the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1827, rival parties tried to secure the regency, as the heir to the throne was a minor. Unrest spread throughout the country, and the Gwalior army, numbering 40,000 soldiers, became restive. In the Punjab the Sikh army had also grown unruly. It was a danger to peace and security which would be considerably increased if the two armies combined.

To prevent this, Lord Ellenborough sent men to settle the question peacefully. When this attempt failed, two British armies advanced across the Chambal. The British forces won victories at Maharajpur and Paniar, and Gwalior became a feudatory state, while its army was reduced to 9,000 men.

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The Court of Directors meanwhile exercised their power to recall Ellenborough, because he wanted the Company to be under the direct control of the Government. He had been President of the Board of Control and therefore the superior of the Directors. As Governor-General, he forgot his subordination to them. They also did not like his aggressive policy.

When he returned to Calcutta, he learnt that the Court of Directors had ordered his recall and appointed Sir Henry Hardinge (afterwards Lord Hardinge) to succeed him. Lord Ellenborough left India some days after his successor reached Calcutta.

SUMMARY

Dost Muhammad, Amir of Afghanistan, was refused British assistance and began to intrigue with Russia. Lord Auckland therefore made an alliance with the Sikhs and Shah Shuja. The allied armies were successful and set Shah Shuja on the throne. The Afghans then murdered three English officers and a revolt broke out. The British made a treaty and set out for India. They were massacred on the way.

During Lord Ellenborough's administration British forces re-asserted themselves in Afghanistan and rescued the surviving prisoners. The Governor-General also sanctioned the annexation of Sind, which had become a subsidiary state in the previous reign. Ellenborough also sent armies to subdue Gwalior.

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QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the First Afghan War?
2. How did the First Afghan War end?
3. How was Sind annexed?
4. What led to the subjugation of Gwalior?

RANJIT SINGH AND THE SIKHS

British Army. The Court of Directors had foreseen that a war with the Sikhs was preparing. They therefore appointed Lord Hardinge, a veteran soldier, to succeed Lord Ellenborough. He continued the policy of his predecessor and gradually strengthened the British frontier, increasing the army to 40,000 men and 100 guns.

Ranjit Singh. The growing weakness of the Delhi Empire in the earlier part of the eighteenth century was partly responsible for the development of the Sikh power. The invasion of Nadir Shah and the raids of Ahmad Shah Abdalli also helped the Sikhs to become stronger.

Ranjit Singh

When the Abdalli left India, the Sikhs occupied Lahore and began to dominate the whole of the Punjab. By the year 1773

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Sikh power extended from Shahranpur in the east to Attock in the west, and from Kangra and Jammu in the north to Multan in the south. They formed themselves into twelve *misls* or sections. The moment the common foe disappeared, Sikh unity dissolved and the leaders of the *misls* tried to form independent states.

The great Sikh leader Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh, head of the Sukerchakia *misl*, united these several groups into a single nation. He was twelve years old when his father died. When he was nineteen, Zaman Shah of Kabul appointed him Governor of Lahore with the title of Raja. Ranjit Singh soon made himself independent and gradually absorbed the trans-Sutlej *misls* into his own kingdom. He also tried to bring the Sikh states to the east of the Sutlej under his power when some local Sikh chiefs began to quarrel among themselves.

Some of these chiefs appealed to the British Resident at Delhi for assistance, and Lord Minto, who was Governor-General at the time, sent Charles Metcalfe to negotiate an alliance. Ranjit Singh boldly asked the English to acknowledge him as the sovereign of all the Sikh states. The British would not agree to this and sent troops under David Ochterlony to prevent any aggression. Hostilities did not break out, however, and a treaty of " perpetual friendship " was signed at Amritsar in 1809, by which Ranjit Singh was acknowledged as the head of the Sikh states to the west of the Sutlej,

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while those between the Jumna and the Sutlej came under British protection.

As he could not extend his territory in the east, Ranjit Singh moved northwards. He captured Kangra district from the Gurkhas and Haidaru from the Afghans. In 1818 he captured Multan, and occupied Kashmir the following year and Peshawar four years later.

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck met Ranjit Singh in person and renewed the earlier treaty of alliance, chiefly because the British wished to use the Sikh kingdom as a buffer state against a threatened invasion by Russia.

Ranjit Singh was a born ruler of men. He was a skilful general and a just administrator. His greatest achievement was the building up of a large Sikh kingdom from very small beginnings. A French visitor to his court called him "an extraordinary man—a Bonaparte in miniature". Ranjit Singh's success was largely due to a strong army in the training of which he was assisted by a large number of foreigners. He introduced many reforms for the good of his subjects, among whom trade and industry flourished. He seems to have had a presentiment that the British would ultimately rule the whole of India, when he said: "*Sab lal ho jayega*" (Everything will become red). He died in 1839.

First Sikh War. After his death anarchy and confusion prevailed in his dominion. His successors were very weak and could not control the Sikh army

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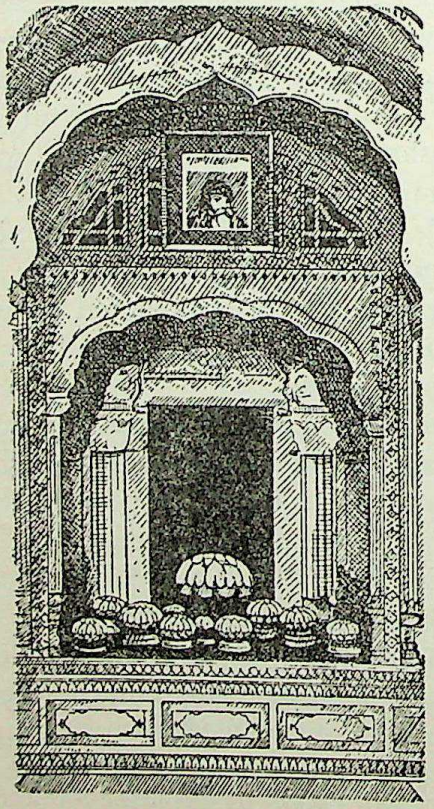
which grew ungovernable and began to defy the civil authority. The authorities therefore induced the Khalsa army to invade British territory in the hope that it would be exhausted. The British had strengthened their garrisons in the northwest districts and had sent troops towards the Sutlej. The Sikh army took this to be a campaign of aggression.



Samadhi of Ranjit Singh

In 1845 the Khalsa army crossed the Sutlej. The opening battle of the First Sikh War was fought at Mukdi, 32 km to the southeast of Ferozepur, where the Sikhs were defeated with heavy losses, chiefly because of the inefficiency of their leader, Lal Singh. The Sikhs were next attacked by the

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British at Ferozeshah, where again the Sikh army was betrayed by its general and suddenly left the field. The Sikhs then suffered two severe defeats at Aliwal and Sobraon. The latter was decisive.

Hardinge occupied Lahore and dictated a treaty by which the Sikhs had to cede to the British all the territories to the left of the Sutlej, together with the Jullunder Doab, and had to pay half a crore of rupees. A British Resident with a small force was stationed at Lahore, and the Sikh army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry.

Internal Reforms. Lord Hardinge introduced several useful reforms in India. He persuaded the Indian princes to suppress *sati* in their states, planned the first railway in India, and made a beginning with the famous Ganges canal for irrigation. He cut down financial expenses considerably, and decreed that Indians who had passed through Government schools and colleges should be given preference in Government service.

SUMMARY

The Sikh power originated when the Delhi Empire broke up. The famous leader Ranjit Singh united the Sikhs into a nation. Some of the Sikh states which he tried to absorb appealed to the British for help. Lord Minto negotiated a treaty, which was later renewed. After his death the Khalsa army crossed the Sutlej and war broke out. British forces were everywhere successful and the Sikhs finally sued for peace; by this the British were the gainers and a British

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Resident was stationed at Lahore. Hardinge also introduced several internal reforms.

QUESTIONS

1. Sketch the career of Ranjit Singh.
2. What were the causes and results of the First Sikh War?
3. What were Lord Hardinge's chief internal reforms?

THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

Second Sikh War. When Lord Dalhousie arrived, the task of establishing a British Empire in India had already been accomplished; the new Governor-General merely completed the work of his predecessors.

Lord Dalhousie

Soon after his arrival the Second Sikh War broke out. Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan, resigned because of financial trouble, and two British officers, who were sent to take charge of Multan, were murdered, it is believed at the instigation of Mulraj.

In 1848 Lord Gough crossed the Ravi and defeated the Sikhs at Chilianwala and Gujrat.

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After this, Lord Dalhousie made the Punjab part of British India.

The British then introduced various reforms affecting the army, police, justice, land revenue, industry, agriculture and other branches of administration. They also prohibited *sati*, the sacrifice of infant girls, punishment by mutilation and other abuses of Sikh rule.

Second Burmese War. Four years later, in 1852, the Second Burmese War broke out. The new King of Burma refused to abide by the treaty of Yandaboo, signed after the First Burmese War, and started ill-treating the British.

Lord Dalhousie tried to make peace, and having failed, declared war. He himself sailed with a large force to Burma. The British attacked and captured Martaban, Rangoon, Bassein, Prome and Pegu. Dalhousie, who was in Rangoon, did not wish to proceed to Upper Burma, and again tried to make peace. The Burmese rejected the overtures, and late in 1852 Dalhousie issued a proclamation formally annexing Pegu and Lower Burma. Thus the British power on the east coast of India extended from Chittagong right up to Rangoon.

Doctrine of Lapse. Dalhousie extended the empire, not only by the conquest of the Punjab and Lower Burma but also, and to a greater extent, by acquiring other Indian states by what is known as the Doctrine of Lapse.

In English law, a private estate " lapses " or be-

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comes the property of the king, if the owner dies without an heir. In the same way Dalhousie made Indian states the property of the British Government. Accordingly, during his administration, seven Indian states lapsed to the British Government, Nagpur, Jhansi, Satara and four smaller ones.

Annexation of Oudh. Dalhousie then annexed Oudh, but neither by conquest nor by lapse. Since 1801 Oudh had been a protected feudatory state with full independence. The administration gradually degenerated, the landlords oppressed the peasantry and the people suffered great hardship. Successive Governors-General had warned the ruling house, but to no effect. Conditions kept going from bad to worse. On instructions from the Court of Directors, Lord Dalhousie therefore annexed Oudh in 1856, and settled a generous pension on the deposed ruler.

Internal Reforms. Lord Dalhousie is as famous for his internal reforms as for his acquisitions of territory. He opened the first Indian railway, planned by Lord Hardinge. The line from Bombay to Thana was opened in 1853; from Howrah to Raniganj in 1854-55; and from Madras to Arkonam in 1856. He set up the first telegraph system and a cheap uniform postal service throughout India. He established a Public Works Department in charge of buildings, roads, bridges and canals, and extended the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar. He took the first step to carry out the famous Edu-

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cational Despatch of 1854, which laid the foundations of the educational system in British India. It had suggested a graded system, from the lowest to the highest stage, with a number of teaching institutions such as primary schools, secondary schools and colleges. It had also recommended a system of scholarships to enable poor and deserving students to take the higher courses of study, and assistance by means of Government grants to educational institutions founded by private effort. To carry out these objects it had suggested the creation of a Department of Education and the establishment of a University in each Presidency town.

Charter Act of 1853. The Charter Act of 1853 instituted an open competitive examination for recruitment of Civil Servants. It added six " legislative Councillors" to the Governor-General's Council. They were the Chief Justice, a Judge of the Supreme Court and four Civil Servants of at least ten years' standing. The Act also abolished the arrangement by which the Governor-General-in-Council was responsible for the administration of Bengal. In 1854 a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal, so that the Governor-General could devote himself to the problems of the Central Government. Calcutta ceased to be " the political and military centre of gravity ".

Estimate of Dalhousie. It was said of Lord Dalhousie that as an administrator " he has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any of the

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illustrious men whom England has sent forth to govern India". But he had his defects. He did not pay enough attention to the feelings of his Indian subjects, and was strangely blind to the signs of unrest in the sepoy army. There was a strong opposition in India to many of his ideas, and he would have done better to pay heed to this opposition, even at the cost of some of his reforms.

SUMMARY

Soon after Lord Dalhousie arrived the Second Sikh War broke out. British forces were everywhere successful, and the war ended with the annexation of the Punjab. This was followed by the Second Burmese War, in which the British captured several important towns and finally annexed Pegu and Lower Burma. Seven small states also lapsed to the British, while Oudh was annexed because of misrule. Dalhousie introduced some good internal reforms, and took steps to carry out the Educational Despatch of 1854. The Charter Act of 1854 was introduced during his time.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the Second Sikh War?
2. What led to the Second Burmese War?
3. Write a note on the Doctrine of Lapse.
4. Give a brief estimate of Lord Dalhousie.

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THE WAR OF 1857

Causes of the War of 1857. The War of 1857, which took place soon after Lord Canning succeeded the Marquis of Dalhousie, had its origin in the English army, but an attempt was made through it to revive the Mughul Empire and the Maratha power. Its causes were political, social, religious and military. Dalhousie's annexations and the Doctrine of Lapse had made the Indian people suspicious and uneasy. There was also a belief among them that the British intended to convert them to Christianity. The prohibition of *sati* and child-sacrifice and the Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act of 1856 were not received with favour. European science went against many of the teachings of the Brahmanas. The telegraph and the railway were believed by many simple people to be magical and devilish inventions.

Lord Canning

There was a great difference between the numbers of European and Indian troops, the former being less than one-fifth of the latter. The army was dissatisfied, because they were sent far from

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their homes. Finally a rumour spread that cartridges were being greased with the fat of cows and pigs to defile Hindus and Muslims. At Meerut, some troopers refused to use the cartridges supplied to them. The authorities court-martialled them.

Bahadur Shah II

The Outbreak. At Meerut, on May 10, 1857, three Indian regiments shot down their officers, broke prisons open and burnt a few houses. The sepoys then marched off to Delhi, which fell into their hands in a matter of hours. They killed all the Europeans, burnt their houses and destroyed the telegraph office, a few minutes after the operator had flashed the news of the war to all stations.

The rising then spread to many parts of India: Nasirabad in Rajputana, Nimach in Gwalior State, Bareilly in Ruhelkhand, Lucknow, Banaras and Cawnpore in Oudh, and to certain parts of Bihar. The Rani of Jhansi led the rising in Bundelkhand.

Suppression. William Taylor, Commissioner of Patna Division, and Major Vincent Eyre of the

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Bengal Artillery, put down the Bihar movement; Colonel Neil of the 1st Madras Fusiliers suppressed the Banaras outbreak; Captain Brasyer defended the fort of Allahabad with a small Sikh force till he was relieved.

The sepoys at Cawnpore, led by Nana Saheb, attacked the British garrison. After a heroic defence of eighteen days against fearful odds, the garrison surrendered on being given assurances of safe conduct to Allahabad; but, as they were leaving, they were all killed.

Nana Saheb Peshwa

A relieving force from Ambala, joined by a party from Meerut, defeated the sepoys at Badli Sari, and occupied the ridge overlooking Delhi. A few days later the Kashmir Gate was blown up and Delhi recaptured. The British deported Bahadur Shah II, the last of the Mughul Emperors, to Rangoon, and shot his sons and grandson.

At Lucknow a small garrison held out against numerous assaults for nearly four months until

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Havelock and Outram arrived with reinforcements.

Lakshmibai, Rani of Jhansi

In Central India, Tantia Tope, a Maratha Brahmana, with a Gwalior force of 20,000, the troops of Nana Saheb and Lakshmibai, Rani of Jhansi, were defeated by Sir Hugh Rose at Morar and Kotah. The Rani fell on the field of battle, Tantia Tope was captured and hanged, and Nana Saheb was driven to the jungles of Nepal, where he is believed to have perished.

End of the Company's Rule. Before the rising was completely suppressed the British Government decided to transfer the Government of India from the Company to the Crown by the Act of 1858. A proclamation making this announcement was issued in the name of Queen Victoria at a Durbar

Queen Victoria

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at Allahabad. It promised to protect the rights of the Indian princes and not to interfere in religious matters.

The army was reorganized and the proportion of European soldiers was raised. The Doctrine of Lapse was given up, and the Indian princes were allowed to adopt heirs. The Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors of the Company, as well as the Board of Control, were abolished, and a Secretary of State for India was appointed instead to be responsible to Parliament for Indian affairs. He was given a Council to assist him, known as the India Council.

SUMMARY

The causes of the War of 1857 were political, social, religious and military. It began at Meerut and spread to Rajputana, Gwalior, Ruhelkhand, Oudh, Bihar and Bundelkhand. The sepoys massacred the British at Meerut, Lucknow, Cawnpore and Delhi. The British retook Delhi, and inflicted major defeats on the sepoys at Lucknow, Cawnpore and in Gwalior. After the war, the control of India passed from the Company to the Crown.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the War of 1857?
2. Describe the fall and recapture of Delhi.
3. What were the results of the War of 1857?

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INDIA AFTER 1857

REFORMS AFTER 1857

Political Reforms. Lord Canning, the last Governor-General appointed by the Company, was also the first Viceroy, as he was now called, being the representative of the Crown. During his term of office there took place an important change in the working of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Hitherto the Council had decided all questions by a majority of votes. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 entitled the Viceroy to divide the functions of administration among individual Councillors, who were given separate portfolios. Each Councillor acted on his own initiative in his own sphere, except in important matters which were placed before the whole Council. The Council, which had been extended by the Charter Act of 1853 for legislative purposes, was further extended by the Act of 1861 by the addition of unofficial members, for the first time including Indians. Similar Legislative Councils were established for the first time in important provinces.

Financial Reforms. Financial experts sent out specially from England helped Canning to introduce important financial reforms: a moderate income-tax, a uniform ten per cent import duty, a plan for paper currency, large cuts in both civil and

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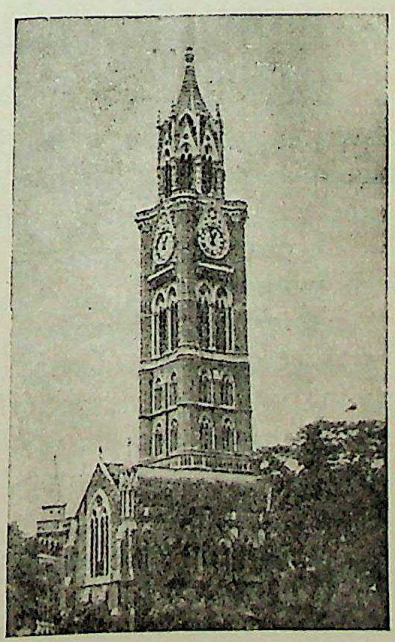
military expenditure and a tax on salt. The income from these sources helped to make up the deficits of the years immediately preceding this period. Canning also appointed the first Finance Minister.

Land for Tea-planting. During this period, Government decided to grant lands to Europeans and others in Assam in the Nilgiri Hills and on the slopes of the Himalayas for tea-planting. It granted up to 1200 hectares as freehold property exempt from land-tax, on payment of fixed sums.

Other Internal Reforms. The Government reduced the strength of the army to 76,000 Europeans and 120,000 Indians. High Courts were established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In 1860 Government finally adopted the Indian Penal Code, originally drafted by Macaulay and revised by Sir Barnes Peacock. In 1857 Government founded



Bombay University

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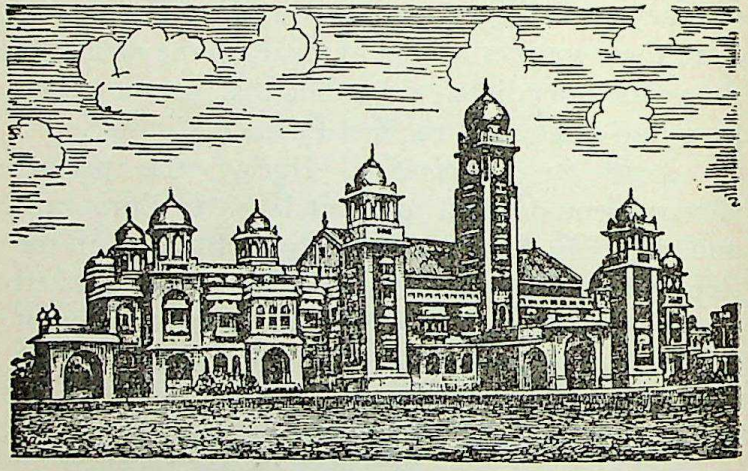

Allahabad University

Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and some time later at Allahabad and Lahore. This led to the spread of education throughout the country.

Lord Canning resigned in 1862 because of declining health.

Experienced Administrator. Lord Elgin, the next Viceroy, had had wide experience of colonial administration as Governor of Jamaica and Governor-General of Canada. Unfortunately, his career was cut short by his untimely death after a little over a year in office.

Sir John Lawrence. After his retirement from service in India, Sir John Lawrence (afterwards Lord Lawrence) had been a member of the Secretary of State's Council. In 1864 he returned to India as Viceroy.

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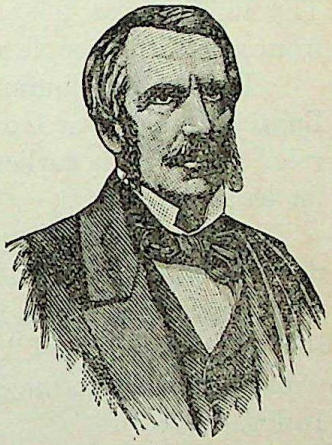
He introduced many internal reforms. He resumed the construction of railways, canals and other public works that had been started by Dalhousie and had been interrupted by the War of 1857.


Lord Lawrence

War with Bhutan. Since 1772 the British had been on friendly terms with the people of Bhutan, a mountainous country on the slopes of the Himalayas. In 1865 the Bhutanese attacked a British garrison but were repelled. By the treaty that was subsequently signed, the Bhutanese surrendered eighteen Duars in return for a yearly subsidy.

Tenancy Acts. Lord Lawrence had always been sympathetic towards the Indian peasant, and he succeeded in getting the Tenancy Acts of 1868 passed, in spite of opposition from the Indian landowners, the European planters, the Secretary of State and a majority of his own Council. The Acts gave a considerable measure of relief to the peasantry.

Famines and Floods. There were two severe famines in India during the time of Lord Lawrence. The first was in Orissa. Communications were difficult, and it was almost impossible to take food-

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stuffs to the famine-stricken provinces. Between one and two million persons are believed to have died. The famine was followed by devastating floods, from which the people suffered even more terribly.

The second famine affected Rajputana and Bundelkhand. The Government organized famine relief better and earlier, and the people suffered far less.

Afghan Affairs. Conditions on the Punjab boundary were far from satisfactory. Two schools of frontier defence came into being: one, known as the " Forward School ", suggested advance into the tribal zones, while the other advised retreat to the Indus.

After the death of Dost Muhammad a struggle for the throne broke out among the most important of his sixteen sons. Lawrence refused to interfere in Afghan affairs, though Russia had designs on Afghanistan. He suggested direct negotiations between Russia and the Home Government.

SUMMARY

During Lord Canning's time the Indian Councils Act was passed empowering the Viceroy to delegate his powers to individual members of his Executive Council. Financial experts introduced reforms which made up the deficits of previous years. Government also reduced the strength of the army and adopted the Indian Penal Code.

Lord Elgin came out as an experienced administrator, but died after a year in office.

Lord Lawrence introduced many internal reforms. War broke out with Bhutan which ended in the annexation of

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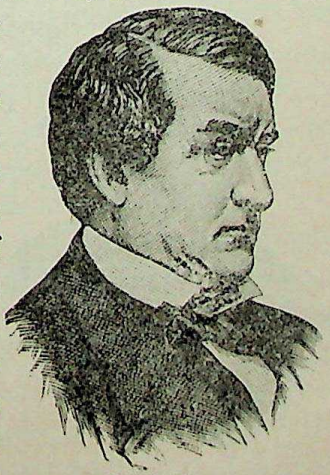
eighteen Duars in return for a yearly subsidy. Lawrence also passed the Tenancy Acts which gave relief to peasants. Two famines occurred during his time. There was trouble in Afghanistan, but he refused to intervene.

QUESTIONS

1. What constitutional changes were introduced during the period of Canning's Viceroyalty?
2. What financial and judicial reforms did Canning introduce?
3. What were the causes and results of the Bhutanese War?
4. Write notes on (1) The Orissa Famine, and (2) The Tenancy Acts.

FINANCE AND FAMINE RELIEF

Financial Reforms. Lord Mayo, the next Viceroy, had to meet the financial deficit left by his predecessor. He raised the salt duties from one to two and a half, and then to three per cent; and he reduced the expenses of some of his departments by over a million rupees. He also organized the system of making grants to the various Provincial Governments which were



Lord Mayo

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authorized to undertake the direct administration of subjects of local importance. As a result of his financial reforms, the deficit left by Lord Lawrence was converted into a surplus of nearly six million rupees for four years.

Census. It was during Lord Mayo's time that the Government took the first general census of India, and made a statistical survey of the country. Lord Mayo also created a Department of Agriculture and Commerce. He established the Mayo College, at Ajmere, for the education of princes and the sons of the nobility.

Death. Early in 1872 a Pathan fanatic stabbed Lord Mayo to death at Port Blair, soon after the Viceroy had inspected the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands.

Lord Northbrook. Lord Northbrook succeeded Lord Mayo. A year after his appointment he wrote: "My aim has been to take off taxes and stop unnecessary legislation".

Lord Northbrook

The new Viceroy introduced several useful financial measures. As a result of the financial policy of his predecessor and the opening of the Suez Canal, India was at the

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moment passing through a period of great prosperity. Though the British Conservative government of Prime Minister Disraeli pressed him to abolish the five per cent duty on Manchester cotton goods, he refused to do so.

In 1873–74 a famine broke out in Bihar and part of Bengal. Lord Northbrook immediately spent nearly six and a half million rupees to purchase and distribute rice from Burma.

Deposition of the Gaikwar. Mulhar Rao, the Gaikwar of Baroda, had ill-treated the relations of his brother and had tortured women. He also attempted to poison the British Resident, Colonel Phayre, and on this charge he was brought to trial. The court consisted of the Maharajas of Gwalior and Jaipur, Sir Dinkar Rao, the Chief Minister of the Nizam, and three British officers. Unfortunately while the three Englishmen found the Gaikwar guilty, the three Indians found him not guilty. Lord Northbrook, on instructions from Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State, dropped the immediate charge but deposed the Gaikwar on grounds of gross misgovernment.

Afghan Affairs. Russia was steadily advancing towards the frontiers of Afghanistan. Lord Mayo had refused aid to Sher Ali in 1869. The latter therefore began to receive Russian agents at his court with greater cordiality. Later, the home government changed its attitude to Russia, and instructed the Indian Government to get a British

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Resident admitted into Afghanistan. Lord Northbrook protested strongly against such a policy, and resigned when he was overruled by the Secretary of State.

Second Afghan War. The new Viceroy, Lord Lytton, came to India with instructions to change the Afghan policy followed by his predecessors, and to adopt a strong attitude. It fell to him to proclaim Queen Victoria Empress of India on January 1, 1877, in a durbar of great magnificence. Three years after his arrival, the Second Afghan War broke out.

Lord Lytton

The Amir of Afghanistan opened negotiations with the British and concluded the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879. He ceded Kurram, Pishin and Sibi to the British and agreed to have a British Resident at Kabul. Two months later, Sir Louis Cavagnari, a distinguished political officer, arrived at Kabul, where he was murdered by the mutinous Afghan soldiers and hostilities broke out afresh.

Lord Lytton later made another treaty, agreeing to pay an annual subsidy, in return for which the

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British were to control Afghanistan's foreign policy and retain the districts ceded by the Treaty of Gandamak.

Famine. During Lord Lytton's time a famine broke out which was one of the worst on record. It lasted more than two years, and affected Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, Central India and the Punjab. The relief measures taken did not meet the situation. Although about fifteen crores of rupees were spent, more than five million people died in British territory alone, two million acres of land were temporarily thrown out of cultivation, and the loss of land revenue alone amounted to about three and a half crores of rupees.

The Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the question of famine relief, and decided to set aside an annual sum of a million and a half to be used in any such emergency.

Internal Reforms. Lord Lytton made the salt tax equal in the various provinces and did away with the machinery of inland customs barriers. Unlike Lord Northbrook, he readily removed the duty on manufactured cotton goods—a step that was strongly opposed in India. The Viceroy was convinced that it would be beneficial to India, and it did lead to a great expansion of overseas trade. In 1878 he passed the Vernacular Press Act, by which editors of papers written in Indian languages had either to enter into a bond not to publish anything objectionable or submit the proofs to a Government officer.

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In 1879, partly because of agitation in India, Government created the Statutory Civil Service to give effect to the promise made in the Royal Proclamation that Indians would not be debarred from any Government office for reasons of race alone.

SUMMARY

Lord Mayo introduced financial reforms, took the first general census and made a statistical survey of the country. He was assassinated by a Pathan.

Lord Northbrook introduced several useful financial reforms, including the reduction of import and export duties and of income-tax. He spent six and a half million rupees on famine relief. He deposed the Gaikwar of Baroda for misgovernment.

Three years after Lord Lytton's arrival, the Second Afghan War broke out. The British were finally successful, and agreed to pay an annual subsidy in return for control of Afghanistan's foreign policy. One of the worst famines on record broke out during Lord Lytton's time. He equalized the tax on salt in all provinces, removed the duty on cotton goods and passed the Vernacular Press Act. Government founded the Statutory Civil Service in 1879.

QUESTIONS

1. What reforms did Lord Mayo introduce?
2. What financial measures did Lord Northbrook adopt?
3. Why was the Gaikwar of Baroda deposed?
4. What do you know of the famine that occurred during the time of Lord Lytton?
5. Write a note on Lord Lytton's internal reforms.

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SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS

Political Development. The half-century following the War of 1857 was one of progress in many directions. Till 1858, when the Government of India passed to the Crown, the Governor-General-in-Council was the supreme legislative authority in India. In 1853 six members had been added to the Council for legislative purposes. This was the beginning of the parliamentary system in this country.

However, no Indian was included in the Council. This meant that Indians could not voice their protest against measures they disliked and, at the same time, the Government had no means of finding out, at first hand, if the measures they adopted suited the people or not. Therefore, in 1860, Sir Bartle Frere suggested that Indians should be included in the Council.

The Act of 1861 enlarged the Legislative Council to " not less than six and not more than twelve additional members ". These additional members were to be nominated for two years by the Governor-General, and for the first time an Indian was included in the Council. It was given wide legislative authority which, however, was considerably restricted by the powers of the Governor-General and the Home Government. The Act restored to Bombay and Madras the power to make laws for the peace

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and good government of their Presidencies, and authorized the Governor-General to create legislative Councils in other provinces.

During the next thirty years there was a steady increase in the legislative powers of both the Viceroy and his Council. During the same period the Indian National Congress was founded. It soon began to ask for bigger Councils, with a larger proportion of elected members and additional powers, especially the right of discussing the budget. By the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the number of members, both in the Central and Provincial Councils, was slightly increased. The Act also introduced the election of members, and gave them the right to discuss the Budget.

Education. When the English took over the administration of the country, education was mainly conducted in *tols* and *madrasas*, and consisted almost entirely of the study of classical Sanksrit, Arabic and Persian. Charles Grant, a Civil Servant of the Company, was the first to start the idea of a network of schools for teaching English. He tried to persuade the House of Commons and the Court of Directors to his view, but without effect.

Christian missionaries, however, undertook the task on their own account in Madras and Bengal. One of the most famous among these was William Carey, a Baptist missionary who came to Calcutta in 1793. Carey and his friends started schools and published translations of the Bible. Other mis-

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sionaries followed in their footsteps, and later Raja Rammohan Roy and David Hare established several English schools and a Hindu college. Shortly after, Lord William Bentinck established the first medical college in Calcutta.

In 1834 Thomas Babington Macaulay persuaded the Government to adopt English as the medium of instruction in India. The next important step in English education was introduced by Sir Charles Wood's famous Educational Despatch of 1854. It suggested the creation of Departments of Education, the setting-up of a graded system of teaching institutions from Primary and Secondary schools to colleges, and the establishment of a University in each Presidency town. It also laid stress on mass education, female education, proper training of teachers and improvement of the study of the vernaculars. Lord Dalhousie gave effect to this policy during his time.

Social Reforms. From the beginning the British Government showed proper respect towards all Hindu festivals and religious ceremonies. Humane considerations, however, compelled them to attack certain practices prevalent in Hindu society. The practice of female infanticide was common in India. Mothers either threw new-born girls into the Ganges in fulfilment of religious vows, or starved or poisoned them to death. Strict laws were passed prohibiting the custom, though secret murder of girls continued for a long time in spite of them.

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The horrible practice of *sati*, by which widows were burnt along with the bodies of their dead husbands, was also suppressed. It had been prevalent in India from early times. From the earliest days of British rule attempts were made to stop it, but fear of risings among the people hampered all such efforts. In Calcutta alone, the number of *satis* was said to be about 500 a year. Public opinion was at last roused against the practice, and in 1829, Lord William Bentinck made *sati* punishable by law.

Lord William was also responsible for the suppression of Thuggee. The Thugs were secret organizations of criminals who were devotees of the goddess Kali. They used to roam the roads for the purpose of meeting travellers, whom they then strangled to death and robbed. The organization had spread all over India, and the British Government had to pass special acts to suppress it.

Another important reform was the abolition of slavery in 1843. It was an ancient institution in India. The Government put an end to it by refusing to recognize slavery as a legal status. Lord Hardinge also put an end to the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds in Orissa.

The Brahma Samaj. As English rule spread European missionaries increased in number in India. The latter began to convert many Indians to Christianity. To offset this trend Indian religious movements started which were partly inspired

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by Western ideas. The *Brahma Samaj* was founded in Bengal, the *Prarthana Samaj* in Bombay and the *Arya Samaj* in the Punjab. The aims of these three organizations were more or less the same—to spread the worship of one God and to discard the worship of images.

English influence was most prominent in Bengal. Hence the *Brahma Samaj* was started first in this province. Raja Rammohan Roy established it in 1828 under the name of the *Brahma Sabha.* He had a temple built for the *Samaj*, where idol worship was prohibited and songs were sung from the *Vedas* in honour of the one true God.

When Raja Rammohan Roy was away, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, father of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, took charge of the movement, about 1843. He started a paper for expounding the doctrines of the *Samaj.*

In 1857 Keshab Chandra Sen joined the *Brahma Samaj.* He devoted himself entirely to the organization and introduced new ideas like inter-caste marriage and widow re-marriage into its working. Largely through his efforts the society was firmly established in Bengal. Devendranath Tagore made him the secretary of the *Samaj*, which made such rapid progress that Government took notice and passed a law prohibiting child marriages and polygamy and sanctioning widow re-marriage and inter-caste marriages.

Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mala-

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bari were the chief figures in the movement for the uplift of Indian women. As a consequence of life-long labours in this field, Vidyasagar was mainly responsible for the measure making the re-marriage of Hindu widows legal, and Malabari's efforts resulted in the Age of Consent Act of 1891, which raised the age of marriage of girls.

The Prarthana Samaj. From Bengal the *Brahma Samaj* spread to Maharashtra in 1849, where it was established by Keshab Chandra Sen. As in Bengal the organization worked for the spread of education among women, widow re-marriage, raising of the age of consent and inter-caste marriage. It established several institutions for the purpose.

Mahadev Govinda Ranade was one of the most active members of the *Prarthana Samaj,* which owed a great deal to him. Born in Nasik district in 1842, he was educated at Kholapur and Bombay where he took the Master of Arts and the Bachelor of Laws degrees in the first class. He started life on a salary of Rs. 200 in the Educational Department, and rose to be a Judge of the Bombay High Court on a salary of Rs. 4,000.

M. G. Ranade

His whole life was spent in the service of huma-

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nity. He established the Deccan Educational Society, and took part in all the major Congress and social activities of his time. He believed that social reform is the handmaid of religion. He died in 1901.

B. G. Bhandarkar was another prominent member of the *Prarthana Samaj*, who devoted much time and energy to its development in Maharashtra. In Gujarat the movement was started by Bholanath Sarabhai.

The Arya Samaj. The *Arya Samaj* was founded in the Punjab by Dayananda Saraswati, a Sanskrit scholar who had had no English education. It had the same aims as the other two organizations. Here it began as a reaction against Western ideas and Muslim doctrines.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati

Swami Dayananda Saraswati was born in 1824 in a Brahmana family in Morvi State. His original name was Mulla Shankar. From an early age he began preaching against idol worship. He travelled through many parts of India trying to persuade Hindus to go back to the teachings of the *Vedas*. In a short time, the *Arya Samaj* became the

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most powerful religious society in northern India. It set up schools and colleges and was responsible for the spread of education among the people. Swami Dayananda died in 1884 of poisoning. His work, however, was continued after his death by Lala Hansraj, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Sraddhananda.

The Ramakrishna Mission. Another reformer of the period was Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who founded a mission based on Eastern and Western ideas. He was a poor priest in a temple at Calcutta. Though intensely religious, he had little education. He tried to preach a faith that combined parts of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. He was not widely known during his lifetime, and his sayings were only collected and published after his death.

Swami Ramakrishna

Narendranath Dutta, a graduate of Calcutta University, was his most famous disciple. He afterwards became known as Swami Vivekananda, and acquired a large following. He attended the famous " Parliament of Religions " at Chicago in 1893, and

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his interpretation of the teaching of Ramakrishna was so well received that Ramakrishna missions were established in the United States.

He tried to show that the worship of images may be used as a means to develop religious fervour and drew a line between the ritual and the spirit of Hinduism. He preached that "all the different religious views are but different ways leading to the same goal". The mission does not seek to make converts, and is devoted to social service. It has opened many schools and dispensaries to help the masses.

SUMMARY

The half century following the War of 1857 was one of progress in many directions. In politics, Legislative Councils were established with Indian members, and the elective principle was introduced. In education, a graded system of Primary and Secondary schools and colleges was started. Child sacrifice, *sati*, Thuggee, slavery and human sacrifice were suppressed. Many religious movements were also started. The chief among them were the *Brahma Samaj*, the *Prarthana Samaj*, the *Arya Samaj* and the Ramakrishna Mission.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of political development in the half century following the War of 1857.

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2. What were the chief social reforms introduced during this period?
3. What do you know of the Education Despatch of 1854?
4. Write a short note on Swami Vivekananda.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Sympathy for Indians. Lord Ripon became Viceroy in 1880. His administration is even now remembered for the sympathy he showed towards the Indians, and his progressive policy. After the settlement of affairs in Afghanistan, he devoted himself exclusively to internal reforms. Indians were fast beginning to show a desire to play a greater part in the government of their own country than hitherto. Lord Ripon favoured this movement, and took steps to make the Indian Government more liberal.

Lord Ripon

Municipalities. The most important reform that Lord Ripon introduced was to establish a system of local boards and municipalities to which he gave a share in the management of local affairs. Wherever possible, he introduced the system of

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election instead of nomination by Government. The chairman of the board was always an elected non-official.

The local boards were of three kinds. A Minor Board was at the head of each rural unit. The Minor Boards were under the control of District Boards, which looked after the affairs of districts. On a higher level than the District Boards were the District Councils. All the members were elected by the people.

Finance. The financial position was extremely sound during Ripon's time. He therefore took the opportunity to complete the Free Trade policy begun by his predecessors and, at the same time, lowered the salt tax.

Freedom of the Press. Lord Ripon abolished the Vernacular Press Act which had aroused great opposition in Indian circles. The abolition of the Act gave newspapers written in Indian languages equal freedom with the rest of the Press in India.

Education. The Government appointed a Commission of twenty members, with W. W. Hunter as President, to make recommendations for the improvement of education in India. One of the most important suggestions it made was that Government should increase the number and raise the standard of Primary and Secondary Schools in the country.

Return of Mysore. In 1881 Lord Ripon installed the adopted son of the deposed Maharaja of Mysore

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on the throne with full ceremonial rites. This act of the " rendition " or return of Mysore which Lord Bentinck had taken under British control, created a very favourable impression in the minds of the people of Mysore and the rest of India.

Social Reforms. Lord Ripon passed a number of Acts regulating conditions of labour in Indian factories, restricting the hours of work of children between seven and twelve, and appointing regular inspectors to examine working conditions in general.

He also tried to give equal treatment to Indians and Europeans by removing the regulation in the Criminal Procedure Code that European British subjects could be tried only by Europeans, and had the famous Ilbert Bill prepared for this purpose. This reform met with strong disapproval, and the Viceroy became very unpopular with the Europeans in the country. On the other hand, he earned the affection and gratitude of the Indian people. Finally, as a compromise, it was decided that a European subject brought before a Magistrate or a Sessions Judge could claim to be tried by a jury, half of whom were to be Europeans or Americans.

Estimate of Lord Ripon. Lord Ripon believed in peaceful progress and in self-government. He won the hearts of his Indian subjects by his sympathy towards them. At his departure in 1884, his route was everywhere lined with grateful crowds,

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and his name still lives in the memory of all Indians as one of the great champions of the Indian cause.

SUMMARY

Lord Ripon was very sympathetic towards Indians. He introduced measures for local self-government, abolished the Vernacular Press Act, appointed the Hunter Commission on education, placed an adopted son of the Maharaja on the throne of Mysore, passed a number of labour Acts and attempted to introduce the Ilbert Bill. All these reforms made him very popular with his Indian subjects.

QUESTIONS

1. What system of local self-government did Lord Ripon introduce?
2. Why was Lord Ripon popular with Indians?
3. Write a short note on the Ilbert Bill.

MORE ANNEXATIONS

Afghan Affairs. The Earl of Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Ripon, had been Under-Secretary of State for India for twenty years. Most of his attention was claimed by happenings outside India, in Afghanistan and Burma. A commission of British, Russian and Afghan representatives met at Sarakhs, on the Persian frontier, to fix the boundary line. In 1887, after negotiations between Kabul, Simla, London and St. Petersburg, the parties signed a protocol.

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Third Burmese War. Upper Burma was still independent. In 1878 Thibaw ascended the throne of Burma, and the British envoy withdrew in the following year because of insulting treatment. Thibaw next tried to make alliances with Germany, Italy and France, and in 1885 received a French envoy at Mandalay.

Shortly after war broke out. The Burmese surrendered unconditionally, and in 1886 the British annexed Upper Burma. Bands of guerrillas in the jungles of Burma continued to harass them, however, and it was only after a number of years that peace and order were restored.

Manipur Revolt. Two years after the arrival of the Marquis of Lansdowne as Viceroy, there was a serious revolt in Manipur, a hill state on the borders of Assam.

Lord Lansdowne

British troops occupied the capital of the state, executed the *Senapati* or Commander-in-Chief, and put a member of the royal house, who was still a young child, on the throne. A British political agent governed the territory during the ruler's minority, and took the opportunity to abolish slavery.

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Khan of Kalat. Two years later, the British forced the Khan of Kalat to give up the throne to his son, because of misgovernment and cruelties.

Boundary Lines. During Lord Lansdowne's time, the boundary lines on the northeast and northwest frontiers of British India were defined. The British secured control of Sikkim, the Shan States and Karenni, and the Lushais and the Chins.

Sir Mortimer Durand went as an envoy to Kabul and a boundary line was laid down. The British ceded certain districts to the Amir, who promised not to interfere with the border tribes.

Kashmir. In 1889, because of certain vague charges, Lord Lansdowne took over the government of Kashmir from the Maharaja, and placed it in the hands of a Council under the control of the British. However, he did not annex the province, and in 1905 the British Government restored the Maharaja to the throne.

Indian Councils Act, 1892. In 1892 the Indian Councils Act was passed. The number of additional members in the Imperial Legislative Council was to be not less than ten and not more than sixteen. The number of members of the provincial legislatures was also increased. The Act introduced the election of members, gave the legislature the right to ask questions on matters of public interest and the right to discuss the money policy of the Government of India.

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Military Reforms. Lord Elgin was a sound administrator, but he had to deal with very difficult problems, as a result of which his administration came in for a good deal of criticism.

Hitherto there had been three Commanders-in-Chief, for Bombay, Bengal and Madras. Lord Elgin placed the Indian army under one Commander-in-Chief with four Lieutenant-Generals for the forces in Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the North-West Frontier.

Famine. Because the rains failed in 1896, famine broke out in the United and Central Provinces, Berar, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Rajputana and Upper Burma. There were about 750,000 deaths in British territory alone though the most modern and scientific methods were used to combat the famine, and relief was given to as many as four million persons. The total cost to the Government was nearly eight crores of rupees.

Plague. In the same year the first case of bubonic plague appeared in Bombay. It is believed to have been imported by rats on ships coming from Hong Kong. The Government was not able to pass strict rules to stop the disease, because of the prejudices of the people. The authorities could only control the plague, but could not stamp it out completely.

Revolution in Chitral. In 1895 the Mehtar or ruler of Chitral was killed. Dr. Robertson, the British agent at Gilgit, who went to look into the

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affair, was attacked. The British Government sent an army, the rising was suppressed and Chitral remained in British hands. The British later constructed a military road from Chitral to the British frontier.

The occupation of Chitral brought on serious risings over the whole of the tribal territory in 1897. A year later the tribesmen were brought under control, paid the fines imposed on them and surrendered their arms.

During Lord Elgin's time Queen Victoria completed sixty years of rule. In 1899 Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon who was one of the most important Viceroys to rule in India.

SUMMARY

Affairs in Afghanistan came to the fore during Lord Dufferin's time, because Russia was advancing towards Afghanistan. After prolonged negotiations, the parties agreed upon a frontier line. In Burma the treatment meted out to the British envoy led to the Third Burmese War, and the British annexed Upper Burma.

Two years after the arrival of Lord Lansdowne there was a serious revolt in Manipur. The British occupied Manipur and placed a young child on the throne. Lord Lansdowne settled the boundary lines on the northeast and northwest frontiers. The British took over the Government of Kashmir from the Maharaja.

During Lord Elgin's time the Government appointed a Commander-in-Chief for the whole of the Indian army, instead of three Commanders-in-Chief for Bombay, Bengal and Madras. Trouble broke out in Chitral, but was

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quelled, and Chitral remained in British hands. Risings then occurred over the whole of the tribal area, and were only put down after a year's fighting.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss Afghan affairs during the time of Lord Dufferin.
2. What were the causes and the results of the Third Burmese War?
3. How were the boundary lines of India settled in the northeast and northwest?
4. To what extent did the British interfere in the affairs of Kashmir, and why?
5. Give an account of the two calamities that occurred in India during the time of Lord Elgin.
6. Give an account of the revolution in Chitral and its results.

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TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Awakening of National Consciousness. The development of English education, the desire of the British Government to promote the interest of the people, and the hopes of Indians to play a part in the Government of their own country brought a national awakening that resulted, in the first instance, in the formation of the Indian National Congress.

Though Surendranath Banerjea's name was unfairly omitted from the list of successful candidates in the Indian Civil Service examination, he entered the Service in 1871, but was compelled to leave it three years later. It was mainly to protest against this that Banerjea started a nation-wide campaign against the Government, and he was so successful that he founded the Indian Association of Calcutta in 1876.

The work of the Association first assumed an all India character when the authorities tried to lower the maximum age for the I.C.S. examination from 21 to 19 years. Banerjea toured the whole of India, holding meetings at Agra, Lahore, Amritsar, Meerut, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Aligarh and Banaras, agitating for better representa-

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tion for Indians in the Government of this country. The Association then sent a memorial on the Civil Service question to England.

The effect was immediate, and the House of Commons created the Statutory Civil Service Rules, which gave better facilities to Indians than hitherto.

Movements against the Arms Act by which no person could manufacture or keep arms or ammunition without a licence, and the Vernacular Press Act followed the Civil Service agitation. The success which attended these efforts encouraged the people of India, and soon after the movement in favour of the Ilbert Bill, representatives from all parts of the country met at the Indian National Conference, held at Calcutta in 1883, at the instance of Banerjea.

Indian National Congress. Two years later, largely through the efforts of Allan Octavian Hume, a retired Civil Servant, and with the support of some prominent Indians, the first Indian National Congress met at Bombay, during Christmas week, under the chairmanship of a Bengali barrister, W. C. Bonnerjea. It had only seventy members.

About the same time, the Second Indian National Conference met at Calcutta. Some time later, the Indian National Conference merged with the Indian National Congress.

Later Sessions. The second and third sessions of the Congress met at Calcutta and Madras, at intervals of a year. Thereafter the Congress continued

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to meet annually in some important Indian town. It evoked great enthusiasm everywhere, and its members kept steadily increasing.

Suggested Reforms. Throughout the nineteenth century the Congress criticized Government policy and suggested reforms in resolutions moved at its various sessions. Among these reforms it included the development of self-government, the spread of education, the reduction of military expenditure, the separation of Judiciary and Executive and the wider employment of Indians in public service.

At first the British Government favoured the movement, and Government officials actually took part in Congress meetings. Gradually, however, the attitude of the Government changed when the Congress began to assert its claims. Just before he retired, Lord Dufferin openly expressed his disapproval of Congress policy.

The Indian National Congress also established a paid agency in England, which arranged lectures and distributed pamphlets. The agency later became the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and published a paper, called *India*.

Active Opposition. When it was found that the Government paid no attention to resolutions, a section of the Congress organized an opposition movement in favour of more active measures. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Maratha Brahmana, was the leader of this section. He tried to revive a national feeling by appeals to the historic past, by celebrating

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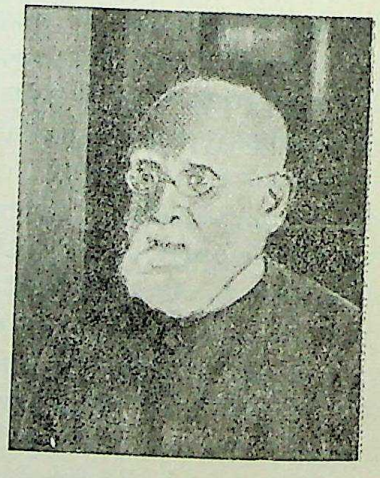
festivals in honour of Shivaji and by his writings in his Marathi paper, *Kesari*. His speeches and his writings resulted in the rise of an extremist party which demanded an India absolutely free from British control.

Leaders of the Congress. Surendranath Banerjea was born in 1848 in a Brahmana family at Calcutta. He passed the Matriculation Examination at the age of fifteen, and then went to England to appear for the Indian Civil Service Examination. He was successful and was appointed Assistant Collector. The British Government was not, however, in favour of appointing Indians to the I.C.S., and he was removed on some pretext or other. He became a Professor in a Calcutta college, and began agitating for the Indian National Conference. He addressed meetings all over India, and was President of the Indian National Congress in 1893 and 1902. In 1905, during the time of Lord Curzon, he strongly opposed the Partition of Bengal.



Surendranath Banerjea

Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsee, was in the

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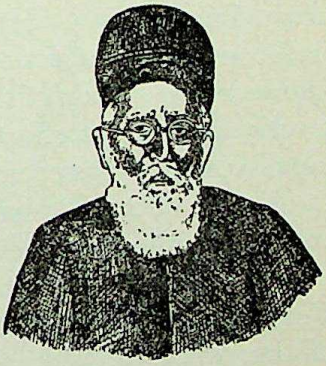
forefront of the fight for 'home rule'. He was born in 1825 in a poor family at Navsari. He was an exceptionally intelligent pupil, and, after a brilliant academic career in school and college, became professor of mathematics in Elphinstone College. He went to England on business, and was there appointed a Member of the House of Commons, being the first Indian to rise to this high dignity. He devoted himself very largely to the service of the people of the country. He was thrice President of the Indian National Congress, the last occasion being in 1906. He died in 1907, at the age of eighty-two.



Dadabhai Naoroji

Pherozeshah Mehta

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, another great Parsee leader of the Congress, was born in a well-to-do family in 1845. He was educated at the Elphinstone College, and

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after passing the Master of Arts degree examination, he proceeded to England to qualify as a barrister-at-law. He returned to India and started practice at the Bombay Bar. He played a prominent part in the municipal affairs of the time, and came to be known as the " Lion of the Corporation ". It was largely through his efforts that the Bombay Municipality Act was passed, for which reason he is called the Father of the Bombay Municipality. He died in 1915, at the age of seventy.

The Aligarh Movement. The Indian National Congress did not appeal to all sections of the people of the country. The Muslims, in whose minds the memory of their past greatness was still fresh, at first started revolutionary movements of all kinds, but their attitude altered in course of time and became reformist in character.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was among the earliest and most important of the reformist leaders. He initiated the far-sighted policy of spreading education among the Muslims, and in 1875 established the well-known Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh,

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which was raised to the status of a University in 1920. This institution greatly helped the spread of Western ideas and education among the Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmad and others of his camp did not join the Indian National Congress, but started a rival institution, known as the Patriotic Association.

In 1906 the Muslims formed the Muslim League to urge their needs. The League, which had become dissatisfied with the British Government, joined the Congress in the Congress-League agitation for political reforms in 1916, and subscribed at Lucknow to the Scheme of the Nineteen, also called the Congress-League Scheme. It was a scheme of constitutional reform submitted by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Its object was Dominion Home Rule for India.

In 1918, because of the British attitude towards Turkey after the First World War, the Muslim League was as determined in its opposition to the British Government as the Indian National Congress.

SUMMARY

Surendranath Banerjea formed the Indian Association. It began to agitate for reforms, and summoned an Indian National Conference in 1883. It later merged with the Indian National Congress, which first met in 1885. The Congress began to hold its sessions annually. At first the Government favoured the movement, but later opposed it. When Congress resolutions ceased to have any effect, Tilak formed an extremist party.

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Sir Syed Ahmad started a reformist movement among the Muslims. He established the Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh. Later, in 1906, the Muslims formed the Muslim League, which for some time joined the Congress in its opposition to the Government.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace the history of the Indian National Congress.
2. Write a brief note on the Muslim League.
3. What do you know of Surendranath Banerjea?
4. Give brief accounts of the work of Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

LORD CURZON

North-West Frontier Provinces. In 1899 Lord Curzon succeeded Lord Elgin. His knowledge of Indian problems was very thorough, and his viceroyalty, which the Government extended for a second term, stands out with special prominence though it sometimes came in for severe criticism.

Lord Curzon

Lord Curzon formed the northwest frontier districts into a new North-West Frontier Province, comprising the trans-Indus districts and the frontier districts, under a Chief

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Commissioner. At the same time he re-named the old North-West Provinces the "United Provinces of Agra and Oudh".

Persia. Soon after this, Lord Curzon visited Persia. The British established consulates and opened trading centres, and projected a railway line from Quetta to Nushki. British influence in Persia was accordingly firmly established, and no other power was to be tolerated there.

Tibet. About the time that Lord Curzon became Viceroy, the Tibetans were trying to free themselves from Chinese control, and to ally themselves with Russia. The Dalai Lama, the religious head of Tibet, was also under Russian influence.

British forces under the command of Francis Younghusband defeated the Tibetans, occupied Gyantse and advanced on Lhasa.

The Dalai Lama fled, and Younghusband made a treaty with the Regent, who agreed to pay Rs. 75 lakhs, whilst a British Commercial Resident was to be stationed at Gyantse in charge of trade relations between India and Tibet.

Famine. During Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, one of the severest droughts on record caused outbreaks of cholera and malaria and brought famine to an area of 12,30,250 square km and a population of sixty millions. One million people are believed to have died in British territory alone. The Government spent nine crores of rupees in famine relief.

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Internal Reforms. Lord Curzon overhauled the whole administration. He passed the Punjab Land Alienation Act and stopped moneylenders from taking the lands of cultivators who could not pay their debts. He formed Co-operative Credit Societies for cultivators, appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture, and founded an Imperial Agricultural Department to encourage the use of scientific methods in Indian farming.

Curzon reorganized the police service and the Indian army. He supplied the latter with better equipment, and, for the first time, used it outside India—in China, Somaliland and South Africa. He laid about 9700 km of railway and improved irrigation. He created a Department of Commerce and Industry, which was presided over by a sixth member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He also introduced the Ancient Monuments Act for the preservation of ancient buildings and monuments in India.

During his time a commission examined the system of education and reported that it was thoroughly unsatisfactory. In 1904, therefore, Government altered the manner in which the Universities were conducted.

Partition of Bengal. The duties of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had long been very heavy, as the province was very large and had a population of over seventy-eight millions.

Lord Curzon, therefore, divided the province

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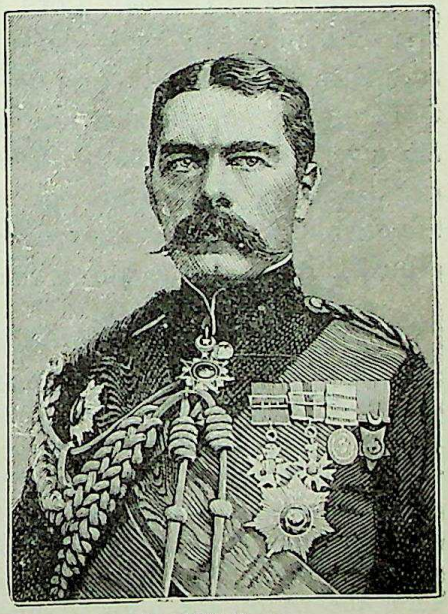
into two parts in 1905, constituting a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, by joining Assam, Chittagong and fifteen other districts. The reform roused fierce popular opposition. Though Curzon intended the division as 'mere readjustment of administrative boundaries', yet the Bengalis interpreted the move as an attempt to divide communally a people who had a common language and common tradition.



Lord Kitchener

Curzon's Resignation. Lord Curzon then had a disagreement with Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, about the control of the Indian army. The home government suggested the appointment of a Military Supply Member on the Viceroy's Council, but as Lord Curzon was not allowed to nominate this Member himself he tendered his resignation. The Cabinet asked him to withdraw it but he refused to do so. The Commander-in-

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Chief became an ordinary member of the Viceroy's Council, in charge of the Army Department.

Estimate of Curzon. Lord Curzon was a great figure, inspired by high ideals, and of remarkable and varied gifts. India and her people had a strong hold on his imagination and affection. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion as regards the effects of his policy on the people. It is possible that his restless energy was partly responsible for much of the unrest that came later.

SUMMARY

Lord Curzon's policy in Afghanistan brought ten years of peace. In the Persian Gulf, British influence increased and the attempts of other powers to establish themselves there were thwarted. He sent a force to Tibet and compelled the Dalai Lama to pay Rs. 75 lakhs and to accept a British Resident. He spent nine crores of rupees on relieving one of the worst famines, and introduced reforms in agriculture, the police, the army, commerce and industry and education. He divided Bengal into two provinces, because it was too large. He finally resigned as a result of a disagreement with Lord Kitchener, in which he was not supported by the home government.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare Curzon's policy in Afghanistan and Tibet.
2. How did the British secure their position in Persia?
3. Why was Bengal divided and what was the effect of the partition?
4. Give an account of Curzon's internal reforms.
5. Give a brief estimate of Lord Curzon.

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TILAK AND GOKHALE

Foreign Policy. Lord Minto became Viceroy and Lord Morley became Secretary of State for India within a few weeks of each other. They worked together in the cause of peace.

Lord Minto

In 1907 Great Britain and Russia concluded a convention relating to Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia. Both powers agreed not to invade Tibetan territory, not to interfere in its administration, to treat with the Government only through the Chinese, and not to send emissaries to Lhasa.

In Afghanistan the convention maintained the *status quo*. Russia agreed not to send agents into the country and to act in all political matters through the British Government.

In Persia the convention probably prevented a war. It bound the two countries to respect the political independence of Persia, which was, however, divided into a Russian sphere of influence in northern Persia, and a British sphere in southeast Persia.

Unrest in India. Meanwhile there was wide-

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spread unrest in India. The Partition of Bengal had roused public sentiment to such a degree that even Bengali University students and schoolboys took part in the agitation for its abolition.

Russia's defeat in the war with Japan had stirred the whole of India. A great Western Power had been defeated by a people of the East! The influence of the Indian National Congress increased, and there followed a movement against the sweeping changes of the previous regime.

The result was that the extremist wing of the Congress began a revolutionary campaign which led to murders and other acts of violence. Riots broke out at Lahore and Rawalpindi. The Government passed two acts, one against the manufacture of explosives, and the other against incitement to kill.

The moderate party of the Congress, however, issued a manifesto, stating that its goal was the attainment by India of the status of a self-governing colony by constitutional means.

Morley-Minto Reforms. Lord Morley believed the situation could be relieved by introducing a real measure of political reform. Hence the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1909, which increased the members of the central and provincial Legislative Councils, introduced the principle of election in the constitution of these bodies and enlarged the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay.

Unfortunately the situation did not improve.

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Several public officials were killed by terrorists, and an unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the Viceroy.

The reforms did not satisfy Congress, chiefly because they introduced the principle of class representation.

G. K. Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born in 1866 in a poor Maharashtrian family. After an excellent academic career he became Professor in Fergusson College, Poona. He was a simple, honest, affectionate and extremely truthful man.

He was a disciple of Ranade and the founder of the Servants of India Society. He gained the admiration not only of the people but of the Government who appointed him to the Council and on several bodies, notably on the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. Later, he became a strong critic of the Government.

Gokhale was one of the leaders of the moderate party of the Congress. He presided over the 21st All-India National Congress, held in 1905. His

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party wished to establish a form of self-government by constitutional methods. He and his colleagues accepted the Morley-Minto Reforms as the first step towards this goal. Gokhale was also a great teacher and social worker. He went to South Africa to join Mahatma Gandhi in his political work and to share his perils, and was therefore greatly respected by the Mahatma.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Bal Gangadhar Tilak ranks among the greater Indian patriots. He was born in a poor Brahmana family, and very early showed signs of intelligence and a desire for study. He had a good educational career, and later became a scholar in Sanskrit. After graduating, he took to journalism and started the Marathi paper, *Kesari*.

B. G. Tilak

His vigorous criticism of the Government did a great deal towards awakening the people of Maharashtra to their political rights and privileges. He was in the forefront of the nationalist movement of the time, and raised the well-known slogan "*Swaraj* is my birthright and I shall have it". He had very strong political views, which divided the Congress for some years

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into two groups. He was imprisoned for his strong opinions and his extremist writings and later deported to Burma, where he wrote books in English and Marathi, including a commentary on the *Gita*. Lokmanya Tilak, as he was later known, died in Bombay in 1920 at the age of sixty-four. He was cremated at Chowpatty where a statue stands to his memory. Its pedestal was built with money raised by the women of Bombay.

Apart from his campaign for *Swaraj* or self-rule, Tilak also originated the idea of *Swadeshi* or use of our own goods and the sister practice of *Bahishkar* or boycott of foreign material. These two ideas had a profound influence upon political and economic affairs in India. Another of Tilak's notions which bore ample fruit in later times was *Rashtriya shikshana* or national education, by which he meant that the people of our country should be made familiar with the greatness of India's past and the lives of India's heroes.

All these tenets were intended as a means to make Indians love their country more deeply and to bring them together in a bond of national unity that would ultimately help to secure freedom from foreign rule.

SUMMARY

Lord Morley and Lord Minto co-operated with each other in the administration of India. During this period Great Britain and Russia concluded a convention regarding

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Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia. Partly because of the sweeping changes introduced by Lord Curzon, violence broke out in the country. The Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced to ease the situation but failed to satisfy Congress fully.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on the foreign policy of Lord Minto.
2. What led to the passing of the Morley-Minto Reforms? How far did they satisfy the needs of the time?
3. What do you know of Gokhale?
4. What was Tilak's influence on the politics of his times?

MAHATMA GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. When Lord Hardinge became Viceroy in 1910, the question of the attitude of the self-governing countries of the Empire, especially South Africa, towards Indian immigration became acute. In 1913 the Union Government passed a law limiting the immigration of Asiatics and prohibiting them from trading, farming or holding real property in the Orange Free State. This roused great indignation throughout India.

In South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi began his famous Passive Resistance campaign. Under his leadership, about 2,500 Indian coolies marched into the Transvaal from Natal. The leaders, including the Mahatma, were arrested. Strikes occurred in various parts of the country, and there was some

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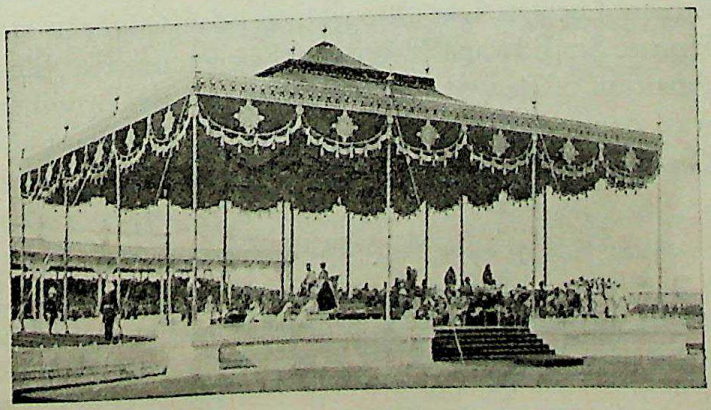
loss of Indian life when the military tried to restore order.

Lord Hardinge publicly criticized the policy of the South African Government and asked for a Committee of Inquiry of which some members were to be Indians.

Mahatma Gandhi's campaign and Lord Hardinge's criticism had the desired effect. The Union Government released the Indian leaders, appointed a commission to inquire into the problem, and finally passed an Act which partially remedied the situation, though it did not completely satisfy Indian demands. Mahatma Gandhi later described the Act as the *Magna Carta* of Indian liberty in South Africa.

Colour Bar in Canada. Canada went much further than South Africa and completely refused admission to Indians. As a protest against this,



Coronation Durbar

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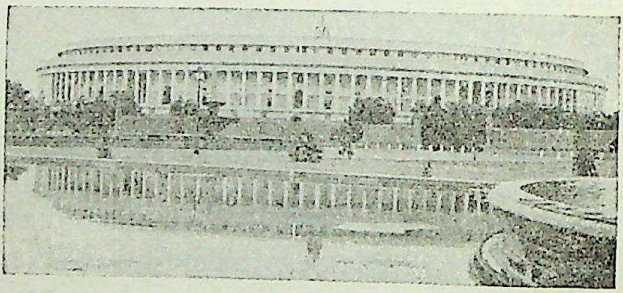
Indian leaders engaged the *Komagata Maru* to take 300 Indians, mostly Sikhs, to Vancouver. They were not allowed to enter and had to return to Calcutta, where they clashed with the police.



Assembly Building, Delhi

After the Coronation Durbar of 1911, the capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. The foundation stone of the new capital was laid by the King-Emperor on December 15, 1911. Sir Edwin Lutyens was the architect for Government House, Sir Edward Baker for the secretariats. The Partition of Bengal was annulled and the province was once again reunited under a Governor-in-Council.

SUMMARY

During Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty Mahatma Gandhi started his Passive Resistance campaign against racial discrimination in South Africa. The Viceroy supported the campaign, and the situation was partially remedied. In Canada racial prejudice went even further.

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QUESTION

Describe Mahatma Gandhi's campaign in South Africa.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Efforts to bring Peace. Many efforts have been made in the past to prevent war among nations. In the Middle Ages the Christian Church tried to establish peace and order among the nations of the world, but it was not powerful enough to do so.

In 1815 Tsar Alexander of Russia formed a League, called the Holy Alliance, which many of the monarchs of Europe joined, to promote justice, charity and peace in the world. Later, other conferences were also held to settle problems and disputes among nations. The most important of these were The Hague Conferences which were meetings of representatives of many nations, held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907.

Causes of Wars. All these attempts were unsuccessful. In fact, even to-day, there is no authority that can make laws for nations or compel nations to obey such laws when made. This is one of the chief reasons why wars break out.

There are also other reasons. There are disputes over territory or disputes over the right to trade. Excessive patriotism or love of one's country often leads peoples to fight against one another.

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Perhaps the most important cause of war is fear and suspicion. They make nations build large armies and navies and store ammunitions. They also make them enter into secret treaties with one another which invariably lead to the very conflict which they are intended to prevent.

All these were among the chief indirect causes that brought on the First World War of 1914. The immediate cause was the killing of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria in the streets of Serajevo. It was believed that Serbia was responsible for the murder.

War is declared. Accordingly, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia promptly sided with Serbia, and Germany with Austria. As France was Russia's Ally, Germany then declared war on France, and began moving an army through Belgium. The Belgians heroically resisted the move, and when Germany began to crush the little kingdom of Belgium, England declared war against Germany on August 4, 1914.

A little later Turkey and Bulgaria joined Germany and Austria, and Italy joined the Allies. In 1917, after the conflict had lasted nearly three years, the United States of America entered the war on the side of England and the Allies.

For four years, from 1914 to 1918, these nations fought one another in one of the most bitter conflicts the world had ever known. Nine million persons were killed, and twenty million were injured.

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Many cities were destroyed. Governments were overthrown, old customs were abolished and many changes took place in the lives of the people. The war was very expensive, and many nations were reduced to the verge of bankruptcy.

Peace. Britain and her Allies gradually began to be more and more victorious. Hence on November 11, 1918, Germany and the Allies signed an armistice which brought the war temporarily to an end.

In 1919–1920 the Peace of Paris was signed which included five treaties one of which was the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was disarmed, deprived of all her colonies and reduced to the status of a second-rate power. Britain became the foremost maritime power in the world.

India and the War. There was a splendid response on the part of the princes and peoples of India. On the battlefields of France, Flanders, Macedonia, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, Indian troops fought side by side with those of the self-governing parts of the Empire.

One important result of the war was that India took her place in the councils of the Empire. The Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Satyendra Sinha, with Sir James Meston, represented India at the Imperial Conference in London in 1917, and later at the Peace Conference. In 1918 Sir Satyendra was made Under-Secretary for India and raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Sinha of Raipur.

The League of Nations. The Paris Peace Con-

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ference also set up an organization, called the League of Nations, to ensure international peace. The Covenant or constitution of the League established three organs: (1) an Assembly, (2) a Council and (3) a permanent Secretariat.

The Assembly consisted of representatives of five great nations and nine small nations only. The Covenant also provided for a Permanent Court of International Justice. The seat of the League of Nations was fixed at Geneva in Switzerland.

The League, however, did not prove a success. From 1931 onwards, major nations like Japan, Germany, Italy and Russia, openly defied it, and began to attack their neighbours. When the League took objection, these nations withdrew their membership, and continued their aggressive activities. Their actions finally led to war.

SUMMARY

In 1914 the First World War broke out. It lasted for four years, and one important result was that India, whose efforts and sacrifices had been very great, won her proper place in the councils of the Empire. The Paris Peace Conference set up a League of Nations.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the results of the First World War?
2. Write a note on the League of Nations.

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THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

Lord Chelmsford. In 1916 Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge. In the following year Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State, announced that the goal of British policy in India was the "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration" and the gradual development of self-government by successive stages.

Lord Chelmsford

Mr. Montagu himself, and two committees under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough, came to India to study the situation at first-hand. In 1919 the House of Commons passed a Bill embodying the suggestions that had been made.

Dyarchy. The bill established 'Dyarchy' or dual control, in provincial Governments. It set up an executive with two sections, over both of which the Governor presided. One section consisted of members appointed by the Crown and responsible to the Secretary of State. These were in charge of

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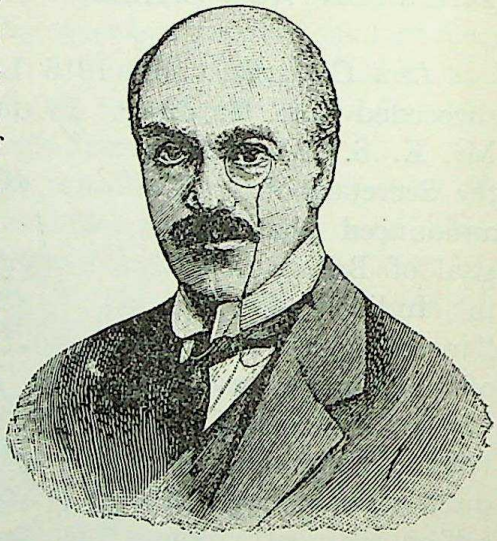
a special group of Reserved Subjects. The other section consisted of Ministers appointed by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and they were in charge of the remaining subjects. The Ministers retained office only so long as they enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature.



E. S. Montagu

At the Centre there was no Dyarchy. The Viceroy remained responsible to the Secretary of State, but the Executive Council was enlarged and the Indian Legislature was divided into an Upper and a Lower Chamber; the Upper Chamber was called the Council of State, and the Lower Chamber the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly had a general control over finance, but the Viceroy could grant any expenditure he considered necessary. Similarly, he could pass emergency bills. The first Speaker of the Assembly was Vithalbhai Patel, brother of the late Sardar Patel.

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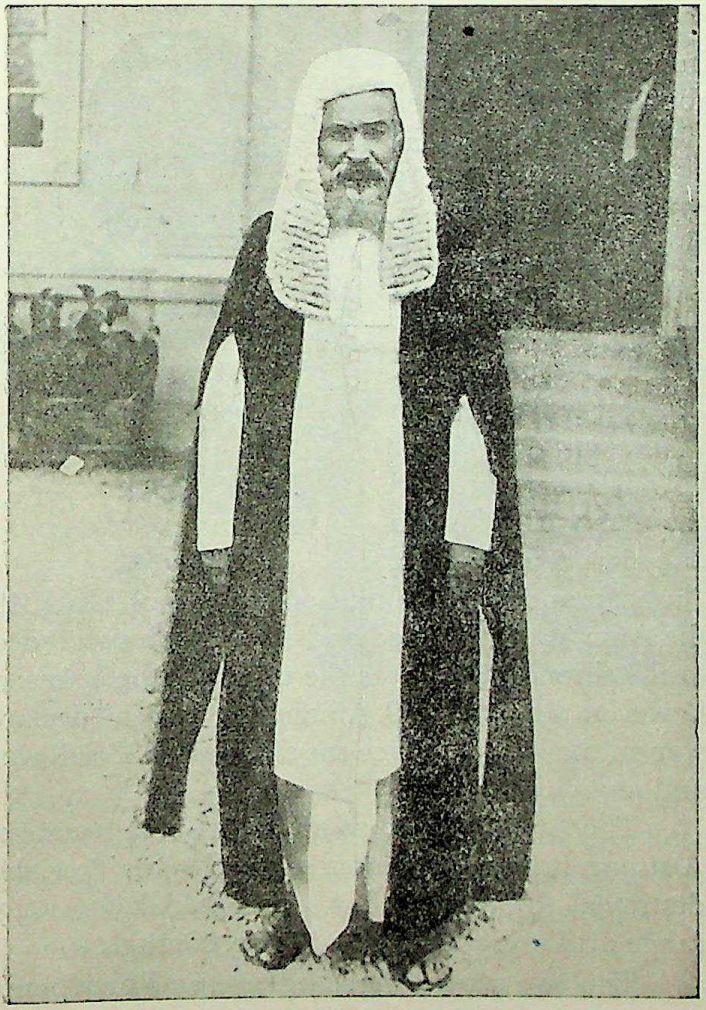

Vithalbhai Patel

Lord Sinha piloted the bill through the House of Lords. He then returned to India as Governor

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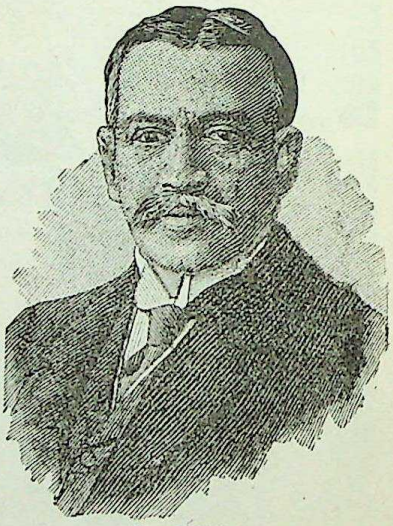
of Bihar and Orissa. In 1926 he was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.



Lord Sinha

Third Afghan War. When Turkey entered the First World War against the Allies, Afghanistan also began to preach a *jihad* or holy Islamic war, and the Amir Habibullah received Turkish, Austrian and German missions at Kabul. In 1919 the Amir was murdered and Amanullah succeeded to the throne. Such was the unrest in the country, however, that in 1919 Amanullah had to declare war on the British or face the alternative of civil war and anarchy.

The Afghans were at a hopeless disadvantage. A strong British force crossed the Khyber Pass and destroyed the Afghan fort, Spin Baldak, by long-range artillery. The Afghans lost courage.

The two parties signed peace at Rawalpindi. The British prohibited the importation of arms and ammunition from British India into Afghanistan, refused to pay the arrears of the Amir's subsidy, or to grant any further subsidy. Both parties agreed

to respect each other's political independence and to exchange representatives.

Annie Besant

Lucknow Pact. In 1916, the split which had taken place in the Congress earlier was set right, and the two parties that had been formed came together. Lokmanya Tilak was once again at the head of the Congress movement. Under his guidance, the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress of 1916 adopted a scheme with Home-rule, *Swadeshi*, boycott and national education as the objectives. Later, the Muslims also joined the scheme, and signed what was known as the Lucknow Pact in 1917, by which it was agreed that the Muslims should have separate representation in the legislatures of the State.

Mrs. Annie Besant, president of the Theosophical Society, who was of English-Irish parentage came into prominence at about this time, and raised

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the "Home Rule" for India slogan, which was taken up all over the country. She had come to India in 1893, and established the Central Hindu College at Banaras in 1898. Her political and journalistic activities contributed greatly to the development of the Indian national movement.

Non-co-operation. Mahatma Gandhi, who had returned from South Africa, began the Non-co-operation Movement in 1919. The people venerated him for his piety and for the services he had rendered to the nation.

Besides refusing to co-operate with the British Government, he encouraged civil disobedience and *hartals*, or the voluntary closing of shops. Judges, lawyers and people boycotted British law courts; prominent Indians surrendered their titles and honorary offices; candidates withdrew from the reformed councils; and students left their schools and colleges.

So great was Mahatma Gandhi's influence that his campaign seriously upset the administration of the country. The Congress Party boycotted the first elections under the new constitution, held in 1920, though two million voters, about one-third of the total electorate, went to the polls. The Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress, held the same year, practically adopted Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement.

Repressive Measures. In order to check the forces of disorder and opposition, Government

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adopted several repressive measures. It passed the Rowlatt Act, which provided for the control of the Press, and empowered judges to try political offenders without a jury and to imprison persons suspected of revolutionary aims.

These measures made the people resentful. Disturbances broke out in Delhi, Gujarat and the Punjab. In Amritsar, where mob violence had claimed several victims, public meetings were held at Jalianwala Bagh, in defiance of orders to the contrary. General Dyer went there with a small body of Indian soldiers to enforce these orders. He opened fire on the assembled crowd for ten minutes, killing 379 people and wounding 1,208. Eight days later he issued the notorious " Crawling Order " that Indians going through a street where Europeans had been insulted should do so on hands and knees. Dyer's action roused the deepest resentment everywhere in India, and was severely condemned in most quarters in Britain.

Muslim Disturbances. In 1919 Indian Muslims also began to show signs of discontent. They were bitterly opposed to the Anglo-American movement to expel the Turks from Europe. Mahatma Gandhi took the opportunity to ally himself with the extremist Muslim leaders, the brothers Mohammad and Shaukat Ali. A *Hirjat* or migration of devout Muslims was started from India to Afghanistan, against the advice of the British Government. The pilgrims were mercilessly slaughtered by the Afghans

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on the road from Peshawar to Kabul. The Ali brothers then began to incite Muslim sepoys to desert, and were promptly clapped in jail.

To satisfy the Muslims, the Government of India approached the home government and insisted on a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. It recommended the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies and the return to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace and Smyrna.

Duke's Appeal. In 1921 the Duke of Connaught came to India to open the new Central Indian Legislature at Delhi. The people boycotted his visit. The message from the King-Emperor, which he read out at Delhi, stated: " For years patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of *Swaraj* for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of *Swaraj* within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy ".

SUMMARY

During Lord Chelmsford's time the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which introduced Dyarchy, were passed. The Afghans declared war against the British, but were soon subdued. Mahatma Gandhi, who had come from South Africa, launched the Non-co-operation Movement. The Muslims also were restive, and Gandhi allied himself with the Ali brothers in opposing the Government. Government passed the Rowlatt Act, and this led to the tragic episode at Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar. In 1921 the Duke of Connaught visited India.

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QUESTIONS

1. How far did the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms satisfy the demands of the people of India?
2. Write a note on the Non-co-operation Movement.
3. What repressive measures did Government pass? What were their results?
4. Describe briefly the Muslim disturbances during the time of Lord Chelmsford.

THE RISE OF INDIAN INDUSTRY

In Early Times. Industry refers to the making of goods; trade is concerned with their sale. Before the European traders came, India had large and flourishing industries. The chief of these were the weaving of cotton, silk and wool. The Punjab and Kashmir manufactured shawls, while all over India people manufactured brass, copper and bell-metal wares. Other notable industries were jewellery, stone-carving, artistic work in marble, sandalwood, ivory and glass, and miscellaneous crafts such as tannery, perfumery and paper-making.

With the coming of the British, there was a decline in Indian industry. Many causes led to this decline. There was, for instance, a heavy drain on the wealth of the country when Indian rulers paid large subsidies to the East India Company. The servants of the Company amassed large fortunes which found their way to England. Because of the favoured position it occupied, the Company enjoyed

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a monopoly in the export of cotton and other goods. Finally, British competition obstructed the development of Indian industry.

Overseas Trade. India's overseas trade, which increased after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1868, was largely in the hands of Britain, Germany and Japan. The era of peace that dawned upon the country and the development of railways, steamships, canals, telegraphs and cables after the British came to India greatly developed Indian trade. The exports were largely materials like jute, wheat, cotton and oilseeds. The imports were manufactured goods.

Gradually Indian industries began to be organized on modern lines. The proportion of manufactured exports rose steadily, while the proportion of manufactured imports fell. Cotton, jute, iron and steel, paper, tanning and leather were among the industries that developed on an encouraging scale.

The Swadeshi Movement. The *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal in 1905, which aimed at spreading the use of Indian products in preference to foreign products, gave a further fillip to Indian industry, particularly to the manufacture of cotton goods. All these industries, however, had to fight hard against competition from foreign countries which were industrially more advanced than India.

After the First World War. Soon after the First World War there was a boom in trade in India, followed by a brief period of depression. From

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1934 onwards India's import and export trade once again recovered. Other important changes also took place after the war. India's export trade, which had been limited to the United Kingdom, began to be diverted towards other European countries. A Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics was set up and Indian Trade Commissioners were appointed in London, Hamburg and other centres.

During and after the war, Indian industry likewise received a great stimulus, chiefly because an increasing number of orders began to be placed with Indian firms. In 1916 Government appointed an Industrial Commission which submitted a report in 1918. Government largely accepted its recommendations, which included the establishment of Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industry, facilities for industrial and scientific education, transport and communications, purchasing of Indian stores for Government purposes and encouragement to Indian industry in other ways. Quite recently the appointment of the National Planning Committee has also helped the development of Indian industry.

The House of Tata. One of the earliest attempts to manufacture textile goods was made by Jamshedji N. Tata in 1877 when he started the Empress Mills in Nagpur. His example was soon followed by several other Indians.

The first great hydro-electric undertakings in

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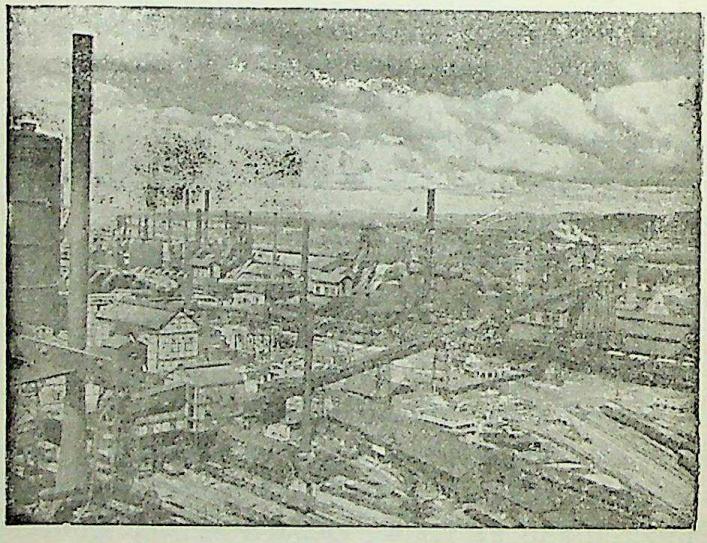
India were the three schemes developed by the Tata company. They are (1) The Tata Hydro-Electric



Tata iron and steel works, Jamshedpur

Power Supply Company Ltd., which started supply in 1915, (2) The Andhra Valley Power Supply Company Ltd., started in 1922 and (3) The Tata Power Company Ltd., started in 1927. These three hydro-electric schemes supply electric energy for the city of Bombay, Bombay suburbs, Thana, Kalyan and greater Poona.

The first successful attempt to manufacture steel in India on a commercial scale was also made by The Tata Iron andSteel Co., Ltd. The Tata company deserves credit for the successful development

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on a commercial scale of the manufacture of iron and steel in its marketable form and the making of acid steel out of Indian basic iron, which was an important advance in the steel industry.

The Tatas also started the Tata Sons Aviation Dept., in 1932. The same year they began the Karachi-Bombay air mail service, and in 1937 the Bombay-Delhi service.

Jamshedji N. Tata. The House of Tata owed its origin to Jamshedji N. Tata. The genius and perseverance of this great Parsee pioneer rank him among the greatest industrialists of India, and indeed of the world.

J. N. Tata

He was born at Navsari in 1839. He had little education, and took to business as soon as he came of age. He was among the earliest to realize the value of the raw material that was being exported from India to foreign countries at low rates, and generally came back to the country in the form of manufactured goods for which India had to pay heavily.

He therefore determined to start manufacturing

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goods in India. Step by step he built up a very extensive industrial organization which is one of the largest in the country today. He was not only an industrialist but a great benefactor. The well-known Indian Institute of Science (Bangalore) owes its origin to the generosity of J. N. Tata, whose plan for establishing a scientific research institute in India was accomplished by his two sons after his death. He died in 1904.

SUMMARY

Before the European traders came there were many Indian industries. With the coming of the British these industries declined. After the opening of the Suez Canal there was a great increase in India's overseas trade. In 1905 the *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal gave a fillip to Indian industry. After the First World War both Indian trade and industry advanced considerably. The House of Tata is one of the greatest industrial organizations in the country today. It owed its origin to J. N. Tata, one of the greatest industrialists of the world.

QUESTIONS

1. What were the chief industries that flourished in India before the European traders came?
2. What were the causes of the decline of Indian industry?
3. Write a brief note on the House of Tata.
4. Give a life sketch of J. N. Tata.

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MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Political Unrest. When Lord Reading became Viceroy in 1921, the country was still in a state of unrest. Both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were dissatisfied with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

Lord Reading

Mahatma Gandhi persisted in his opposition to the Government and preached his famous Triple Boycott of British courts, Government schools and the reformed Councils. He organized a successful campaign to obtain a crore of rupees for the Non-co-operation Movement.

At about this time he began a campaign in

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favour of Prohibition, which took the form of picketing liquor shops, and another campaign to remove untouchability and thus to improve the lot of thousands of his countrymen who were victims of the caste system. Gandhi also introduced the *charka* or the hand-spinning wheel to raise the standard of life of the people and to help them to compete with British manufactures.

Risings. There was widespread trouble everywhere. Disturbances took place in Bihar, Assam, Madras, Karachi, Dharwar, Calcutta and Chittagong. In Malabar, in 1921 and 1922, there were risings of Moplahs, a fanatical tribe of Arab descent. Thousands of Hindus were cruelly massacred or forcibly converted to Islam. Mahatma Gandhi, however, was prepared to support the Moplahs, provided they subscribed to the doctrine of *Swaraj*.

Visit of the Prince of Wales. When the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay in 1921 widespread troubles broke out. In Bombay the rioting lasted three days, and, besides considerable damage to property, 53 persons were killed and about 440 were wounded. Some time later, at Chauri Chaura, 21 policemen and rural watchmen were killed by an infuriated mob. These disturbances finally led to the trial and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, as his agitation was held to be responsible for them.

South Africa. The Union Parliament of South Africa proposed to pass an anti-Asiatic bill, providing for the reservation of certain areas in which

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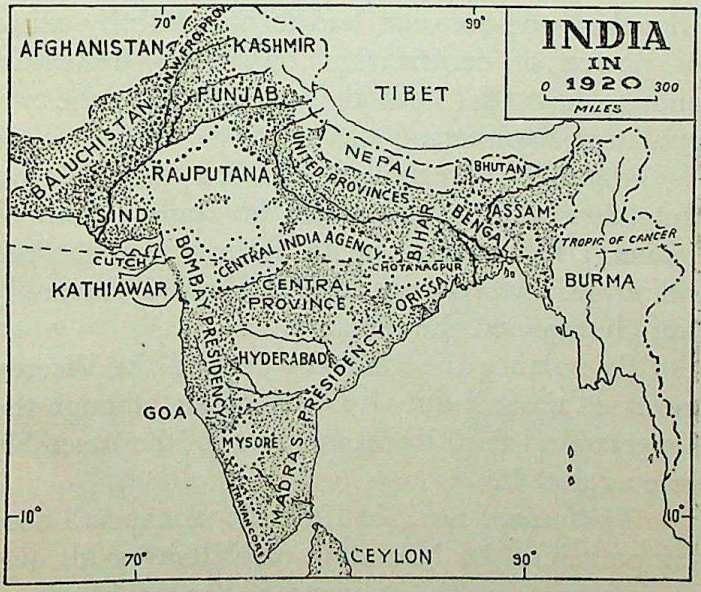
Asiatics would not be able to acquire land. The Government of India took up the question and succeeded in postponing this legislation till a "Round Table Conference" of Indian and South African delegates had met to discuss the matter.

The Bengal Ordinance. One result of the Non-co-operation Movement and the widespread defiance of law was the outbreak of criminal outrages



India in 1920

in some parts of the country, notably in Bengal. To arrest these activities, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1924, was passed. It provided for the arrest without a warrant of persons

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suspected of belonging to criminal organizations. They could be secretly tried and sentenced by special judges appointed for the purpose. A number of persons were tried and imprisoned under this ordinance. This brief method of trial and punishment created much indignation in the country.

Power of Certification. Partly because of the uneasy state of the country and the unbending opposition to the Government, the Viceroy on more than one occasion had to pass bills by using his power of certification by which he could sanction laws that had not been passed by the two legislative chambers.

In 1922 Government certified the Princes' Protection Bill to prevent the publication of writings that would excite feelings against the Indian princes, though the Legislative Assembly strongly opposed the measure.

To balance the 1923–24 budget, the Viceroy increased the salt duty by certification, though the Congress and the Liberal members of the Assembly were against it.

The Indian States. In 1923 allegations had been made against the Maharaja of Nabha by his own officials and by the subjects of the Maharaja of Patiala. Before the matter could be investigated the Maharaja of Nabha abdicated.

Mumtaz Begam, a singing girl who had been under the patronage of the Maharaja of Indore, had left the state with the assistance of a Muslim bar-

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rister of Bombay, named Bawla. An attempt was made to abduct Mumtaz Begam and Bawla was murdered.

Lord Reading appointed a commission of inquiry to investiage the attempted abduction and the murder in 1925. The Maharaja of Indore, who was implicated in the affair, eventually abdicated.

In 1925 the Nizam of Hyderabad claimed the province of Berar and asserted that the ruler of Hyderabad stood on the same footing as the British Government in India. The Nizam's claim was disallowed, and the Viceroy stated: " The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, therefore no ruler of an Indian state can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing ".

Swaraj Party. The Non-co-operation Movement continued to flourish till 1924. In 1923 the *Swaraj*

Motilal Nehru

C. R. Das

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Party was formed under the leadership of C. R. Das in Bengal, Pandit Motilal Nehru in upper India and Mr. N. C. Kelkar in the Deccan. The *Swaraj* Party recommended entry into the legislatures. Its influence came to an end with the death of C. R. Das in 1925.

Communal Riots. Communal strife between Hindus and Muslims broke out all over India during the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin. Its immediate causes were invariably minor incidents such as the playing of music before mosques, the slaughter of cows, or some mischievous boys pelting passers-by with stones. The results were out of all proportion to the offence given, which was often quite unintentional.

Lord Irwin

These riots took the form of burning of houses and shops, murder and pitched battles in the streets of the city, between gangs armed with sticks and stones. Commnications, trade and commerce came to a standstill in the affected areas, involving considerable loss of life and property. In less than

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eighteen months, it was estimated that between 250 and 300 persons were killed and over 2,500 injured.

Repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made by the Simla Hindu-Muslim Conference and the All-India National Conference to find a solution to the problem, but occasional communal riots continued to break out.

Indian Statutory Commission. In 1927 Parliament appointed the Indian Statutory Commission, with Sir John Simon as President, to visit India and report on the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions. All the seven members of the Commission were British. Every party in the country made a grievance of this and received the Commission with *hartals*, strikes and hostile demonstrations.

In 1927 the All-India National Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the National Liberal Federation passed resolutions that the Commission should be boycotted. In 1928 the All Parties Conference appointed a sub-committee, with Pandit Motilal Nehru as one of its chief members, to determine the principles of a constitution for India. It drafted the famous Nehru Report, which claimed Dominion Status for India.

After two visits, the Commission published a report recommending the suppression of Dyarchy, the limitation of the powers of the Governors of Provinces, the reorganization of the Legislative

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Assembly as a Federal Assembly, and the separation of Burma from India. It also proposed that the defence of India should be under the control of the Viceroy, advised by the Commander-in-Chief.

Political parties in the country immediately set to work to defeat the Viceroy's attempts to bring about political reform on constitutional lines. In 1929 the Indian National Congress, at its Lahore session, openly abandoned the cause of Dominion Status, claimed complete independence and voted in favour of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. This was only another form of Non-co-operation.

Lord Irwin's Efforts. Lord Irwin tried his best to save the situation. Late in 1929 he made an announcement that His Majesty's Government recognized that Dominion Status was the goal of India's political ambitions, and was prepared to hold a Round Table Conference in London to give Indian leaders the opportunity to express their views.

The following year, the Viceroy and his Council also submitted a Confidential Despatch to London, recommending that in the future constitution, India should have the status of a partner rather than a subordinate as hitherto, and that some form of federation should be established including both British India and the native states.

First Round Table Conference. The First Round Table Conference met in London late in 1930.

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The Indian princes openly favoured the plan of federation, and a Federal Relations Committee was appointed to examine the whole question. Unfortunately, the Hindus and the Muslims could not agree as to the number of representatives each community should send to the Legislative Assemblies. The minorities also tried to assert their rights.

Early in 1931 the Prime Minister announced that His Majesty's Government approved of the federal plan, with safeguards for the army, finance and the rights of minorities.

Civil Disobedience. In 1930 Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement with his famous march from Ahmedabad to Dandi to manufacture salt. The country started a general boycott. The movement received the fullest popular support everywhere, except in Assam and the Central Provinces. Its measures took the form of the unlawful manufacture of salt, strikes, the boycott of British goods, of schools, colleges and Government offices, the picketing of liquor and cloth shops, and the non-payment of taxes and land revenue.

To check the trouble, Government imprisoned a large number of Congressmen, including Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and promulgated six Ordinances. The movement, however, was not suppressed. The excitement in towns, especially in Bombay, rose higher and the spirit of revolt spread. Forest laws were disobeyed,

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payment of taxes and rents was stopped, Government servants were threatened and a few outrages took place.

After the First Round Table Conference, the Muslims and the Liberals dissociated themselves from the campaign, but the Congressmen maintained the boycott and the practice of Civil Disobedience.

The Delhi Pact. In 1931, as the result of a number of meetings held between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, an agreement, known as the Delhi Pact, was reached and the situation improved.

On one side organized defiance of the law was to be stopped; on the other, Government agreed to release those political prisoners who had not indulged in violence, to remit fines not yet paid, to withdraw the additional police and to permit the manufacture of salt in certain villages.

The Sarda Act. Katherine Mayo's book, *Mother India*, centred the world's attention on the question of child marriages in India, and in 1927 Rai Saheb Harbilas Sarda proposed a Bill prohibiting marriages of girls below the age of twelve and of boys below the age of fifteen. The Bill was meant to check the evil of such marriages among Hindus, but the Assembly changed it considerably before finally passing it. The Sarda Act, as it is called, affects all communities, and makes marriage contracts between boys under eighteen and girls under fourteen an offence punishable by law.

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Second Round Table Conference. The Earl of Willingdon favoured a policy of constitutional reform, and succeeded in persuading Mahatma Gandhi to attend the Second Round Table Conference which met towards the end of 1931.

At this Conference, the federal issue did not receive due consideration, because the delegates concentrated on communal representation. Mahatma Gandhi was prepared to grant separate electorates to Sikhs, Muslims and Europeans, but not to the Depressed Classes.

As the Conference did not reach a settlement the Prime Minister declared that His Majesty's Government would introduce its own form of Federation in India. Three committees were appointed: (1) the Franchise Committee under Lord Lothian, (2) the Federal Finance Committee under Lord Eustace Percy, and (3) the Indian States Inquiry Commission under Mr. Davidson.

Revival of Civil Disobedience. When Gandhi returned from the Second Round Table Conference, the truce between the Government and the Congress came to an end, and the latter relaunched the Civil Disobedience campaign. To meet it, Government promulgated four Ordinances: (1) the Emergency Press Ordinance, (2) the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, to deal with the " No-tax " campaign, (3) the Unlawful Association Ordinance, and (4) the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance.

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Large numbers of arrests and convictions were made.

Economic Disturbances. Acute economic distress prevailed in the United Provinces. Both cultivators and landlords suffered from the situation, and the Government had to give up land revenue amounting to about 68 lakhs. This amount was later increased to 109 lakhs. But the tenants were not satisfied and refused to pay rents. The United Provinces Emergency Powers Ordinance was thereupon promulgated. Pandit Nehru was arrested for his activities in this connection towards the end of 1931.

There was similar economic trouble in the North-West Frontier Province, and the Red Shirts, a political organization under the famous Pathan leader, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, started a campaign in favour of non-payment of taxes and rents. Ordinances were promulgated in this area also, and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was placed under arrest late in 1931.

The Communal Award. In 1932 the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, made the Communal Award which settled the communal problem that had baffled the Second Round Table Conference. The Award granted separate electorates to Sikhs, Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans. It also set up separate constituencies for the Depressed Classes, but it did not allot the seats according to the ratio of the population.

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The Poona Pact. The same year, Mahatma Gandhi, who was opposed to separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, began a fast as a protest against the Award. He broke his fast when the Government agreed to what is known as the Poona Pact, by which separate constituencies for the Depressed Classes were abolished, and seats were reserved for them in the general electorate.

The Third Round Table Conference. The Third Round Table Conference met late in 1932. This time the delegates reached an agreement on many problems and their proposals were published in a White Paper, in 1933.

The White Paper proposed a Federation of eleven provinces and those Indian states which wished to join it. It provided for the establishment of a bi-cameral Federal Legislature, to which the Executive Council was responsible, but it granted special powers to the Viceroy. It made provision for the establishment of Provincial Autonomy, and entrusted all the Departments to the Governor, advised by a Council of Ministers, who were in turn responsible to the provincial legislature. These proposals did not meet with approval in India.

Individual Civil Disobedience. In 1933, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a second fast. This time it was not directed against the Government, but was in connection with the *Harijan* movement. *Harijan*, which means children of God, was the new name the Mahatma had given to the ' untouchables '.

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The fast was a sort of penance for the prevalence of "untouchability" in Hindu society. After twenty-one days he broke his fast.

Civil Disobedience was suspended for six weeks in the first instance, and then completely abandoned. Individual Civil Disobedience, to be practised by private individuals, was launched in its place. Mahatma Gandhi also contemplated a march from Ahmedabad to the Kaira District, but the Government arrested and imprisoned him. In prison the Mahatma started his third fast. He was released after a week because his condition was considered serious.

Subsequent attempts to start Civil Disobedience, however, proved a failure, and in 1934 the Mahatma himself put an end to the campaign by declaring: "In future no Congressman except myself shall practise Civil Disobedience".

Government of India Act, 1935. Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1935, which followed the lines suggested by the White Paper, with slight modifications. The Act brought British India and the Indian states under a single Federal Government.

SUMMARY

When Lord Reading became Viceroy, there was widespread political unrest and Mahatma Gandhi persisted in his opposition to the Government. There were disturbances everywhere. The Government of India succeeded in post-

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poning the anti-Asiatic Bill that the Union of South Africa Parliament tried to pass. The Non-co-operation Movement led to the outbreak of criminal outrages, because of which the Bengal Ordinance was passed.

During Lord Irwin's time Parliament appointed the Indian Statutory Commission to visit India. The Commission was badly received. Lord Irwin tried to save the situation, and a Round Table Conference was held in London. The Conference did not solve the problem, and Mahatma Gandhi started Civil Disobedience. Later, the Delhi Pact was signed.

Lord Willingdon persuaded Mahatma Gandhi to attend the Second Round Table Conference. The Conference did not reach a settlement, and Gandhi, on his return, started Civil Disobedience. In 1932 the British Prime Minister made the Communal Award. In the same year the Third Round Table Conference met, and its proposals were published in 1933. Mahatma Gandhi then started Individual Civil Disobedience. In 1935 Parliament passed the Government of India Act.

QUESTIONS

1. What reformist tendencies did Mahatma Gandhi introduce into the Non-co-operation Movement?
2. What were the results of the Non-co-operation Movement?
3. What were the chief causes of communal strife?
4. Why was the Indian Statutory Commission appointed? What were its recommendations?
5. Write brief accounts of the Second and Third Round Table Conferences.
6. What was the nature of the economic disturbances that broke out in India during this period?

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THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ITS EFFECTS IN INDIA

Congress in Power. In September 1937, the first elections were held under the Government of India Act, 1935. The Indian National Congress secured a majority in eight out of eleven provinces. These eight provinces established Congress Ministries, while the remaining three formed Coalition Ministries under Muslim Ministers.

During the two years that the Congress was in power, the real rulers of the country were not the Congress delegates in the Assemblies, but the Congress Working Committee, which consisted of the Congress President and fourteen members chosen by the President. It appointed a Parliamentary Sub-Committee of three members, who directly controlled the working of the Congress Ministries in the eight provinces, and also directed those of their Ministers who belonged to the Coalition Ministries in the other three provinces.

Lord Linlithgow

Congress rule lasted only a little over two years.

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Congress Ministers assumed office in July 1937, and resigned in October and November 1939, on the orders of the Parliamentary Sub-committee.

The Second World War. For some time after the First World War there was peace and progress among nations. But soon, dictatorships arose in many countries. Powerful leaders, called dictators, became the heads of certain nations and began to rule despotically. They began to direct the total life of the people over whom they ruled. They interfered not only with their public, but with their private lives as well. Russia, Italy, Germany and Japan were the major dictatorships in the world at this time.

One other trait of these dictatorships was that they showed little respect for treaties and began to make aggressive moves against the territories of neighbour nations. In 1931 Japan captured the rich Chinese province of Manchuria, in 1935 Germany occupied the Saar territory, and the same year Italy attacked the kingdom of Abyssinia in Africa.

Because the League of Nations protested against these attacks, Germany, Italy and Japan formed an alliance which was called the Axis. On the strength of this alliance the German dictator Hitler seized Austria, Czechoslovakia and the port of Memel, and the Italian dictator Mussolini secured the Balkan territory of Albania.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler openly attacked Poland. Britain and France then declared war on

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Germany. Poland was occupied and partitioned between Germany and Russia, who had previously signed a secret pact. Mussolini now joined Hitler.

France collapsed before German might, but England resisted it. In 1940, America came to England's aid with aeroplanes and munitions, and a year later joined the war against Japan, Germany and Italy. Soon after America's entry the tide of war turned in favour of the Allies.

India Joins the War. Without the sanction of the Indian Assembly, the Viceroy pledged India's support to Great Britain in the war. He also issued a Defence of India Ordinance, which empowered the Government to rule by decree, to prohibit meetings and to make arrests without warrant.

This policy created great resentment in the country. The Indian leaders were emphatic that the question of taking part in the war rested with the Indian people alone. The Viceroy made attempts to appease both the Congress and the Muslim League, and to gain their support in the crisis that confronted Britain and most of the world. On October 19, 1939, he reaffirmed the promise that Dominion Status and complete equality were the goal of British policy in India. The Congress, which clamoured for immediate independence, was not satisfied with this promise, and forced the Provincial Ministries to resign office.

Pakistan. Chauduri Rahmal Ali, a Punjabi Muslim student, was the first to suggest the idea of

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a separate Muslim nation, in a pamphlet which he circulated privately in January 1933.

The name he had invented for this nation was Pakstan: P standing for Punjab; A for the North-West Frontier or Afghan Province; K for Kashmir; S for Sind; and TAN for Baluchistan. Later the name was changed to *Pakistan*, the land of the pure.

At first no one took the proposal seriously; people said it was only a "student's scheme". Gradually, however, the idea caught on, till it was finally adopted as the official programme of the Muslims in India. This development was partly the result of Congress rule in the eight provinces under its control.

Pirpur Report. A special committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur, to inquire into Muslim grievances. The committee studied the causes of the conflict between the two communities, with particular reference to the provinces in which the Congress had a majority. It finally listed a number of Muslim grievances against the Congress, all of which the latter refuted.

The net result of the Pirpur Report was that it widened the breach between the Hindus and the Muslims, and, at its session at Lahore, in March 1944, the Muslim League passed a resolution declaring that regions in which there was a Muslim majority should be grouped together to constitute independent states.

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The August Offer. In the meantime, the Congress started on its campaign of opposition, which took the form of *satyagraha* or Civil Disobedience. This time, however, it was Individual Civil Disobedience, to be practised only by private persons, each on his own part and not on a nation-wide scale.

The Viceroy persisted in his efforts to come to an understanding with the various parties in India. In August 1940 he made a promise of independence, to take effect immediately after the war. Meanwhile he threw open the Viceroy's Executive Council to more Indians, and undertook to set up a War Council with Indian members in it. His promise of independence included safeguards for the minorities and the formation of a separate state of Pakistan, and was therefore rejected by the Congress.

Draft Declaration. Two years later, the British Government made another attempt to arrive at a compromise. In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps came to India with the Draft Declaration of the British Government, endorsed by the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. The draft promised to set up an Indian Union with Dominion Status, the defence of India remaining for the time being in British hands. Further, to appease the Muslims, the draft proposed that any Indian state or province could either join the Indian Union or remain outside it.

This last clause was not acceptable to theIndian National Congress. It did not want a divided India. Mahatma Gandhi described the Cripps proposals

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a " post-dated cheque on a crashing bank ". The Congress therefore promptly rejected them; and in the same year the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay and passed the famous "Quit India" resolution, calling on the British to quit the country forthwith.

Disturbances. The Government immediately arrested a number of top-ranking Congressmen. A wave of disturbances swept the country. Within a short time 250 railway stations and 300 post offices were damaged or destroyed, 150 police stations were attacked, a number of officials and soldiers were killed, and about 900 civilians lost their lives.

India's War Effort. In spite of all this political opposition, however, India's war effort was magnificent. In September 1939, the Indian army numbered 170,000 fighting men; in 1943, there were 2,000,000. India also became the centre for the supply of all sorts of war materials. Indian factories turned out uniforms at the rate of 500,000 a month, and 300,000 pairs of army boots a year. India also supplied blankets, tents and millions of jute sandbags. This country was largely responsible for the supply of pipe-lines, rolling stock and locomotives. India's villages made cotton cloth, blankets, camouflage netting and pith helmets. The Government constructed 200 aerodromes for the Allied forces; there were 18 centres for assembling aircraft and some types were actually built in India. The authorities built no less than 130 new hospitals,

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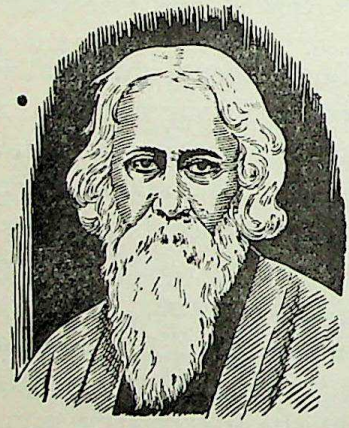
and the army hacked a network of roads out of the jungle.

Rabindranath Tagore. India suffered an irreparable loss in 1941 with the death of Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet, dramatist and thinker. In 1913 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his poem, *Gitanjali*. Two years later he was knighted, but relinquished his title after the tragedy of Jalianwalla Bagh in 1919. In 1921 he founded Vishwabharati, at Santiniketan. It is a unique educational institution, which is a quaint blend of East and West. In his life and work, Tagore maintained most admirably the exalted tradition of the ancient sages of India.



Rabindranath Tagore

Estimate of Lord Linlithgow. The Marquess of Linlithgow probably had one of the most difficult tasks of any Viceroy in India. The outbreak of the Second World War introduced several complications into the Indian problem. Germany's early victories created a belief in India that the Allies would lose the war. This belief considerably influenced Indian politics, and was partly responsible for the hostile

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attitude of Indian politicians to every proposal that Britain made during the period.

On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the Viceroy's pledge, on behalf of India, for the support of Britain in the war, given without consulting the Indian Assembly, together with the Ordinances and other repressive measures that followed, embittered Indian feelings in no small degree. Lord Linlithgow's only justification is that in such an emergency he had to act swiftly and forcibly in accordance with what he believed to be his duty as Viceroy.

SUMMARY

Lord Linlithgow held the first elections under the Government of India Act, 1935. Congress secured a majority in eight of the eleven Indian provinces. Congress Ministries were formed in these eight provinces, and Coalition Ministries in the other three. After two years, Congress rule came to an end. The Second World War broke out, and the Viceroy pledged India's support to the Allies, without consulting Indian leaders, which created great resentment About this time also, the idea of a separate Muslim State. called Pakistan, gained support. The Pirpur Report, which accused Congress of the ill-treatment of Muslims, strengthened its appeal. The British Government made the August Offer and the Draft Declaration to settle the problem. Both were rejected. In spite of the political unrest India's war effort was magnificent.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the working of autonomous provincial rule from 1937 to 1939.

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2. Describe the main political currents in the Congress and the Muslim League during the term of Lord Linlithgow.
3. Write a brief note on India's war effort.

END OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Bengal Famine. Lord Wavell was Commander-in-Chief in India when he succeeded Lord Linlithgow in October 1943. He did not complete the usual five-year term of viceregal office, but was recalled on February 27, 1947.

In 1942 a cyclone which wrought great havoc in Bengal, destroyed rice crops, drowned thousands of head of cattle and put many hectares of land temporarily out of cultivation. Soon after this a terrible famine broke out in Bengal. It was not, however, entirely an act of God. Large quantities of foodstuffs from Bengal had been exported to feed troops overseas. Burma, which supplied India with most of its rice, was in Japanese hands. The Bengal Government also proved singularly incompetent to deal with the situation, and the other Indian provinces did not very readily assist with food supplies for fear of creating a similar situation in their own areas.

Lord Wavell tried his best to relieve the distress of the people of Bengal. He took the help of the

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army to rush food and medical supplies to the famine-stricken areas. But all his efforts proved unavailing. For months on end the famine raged with fearful intensity, and people died of hunger by the hundred in the streets of the towns and villages of Bengal. Altogether 1,500,000 persons perished from starvation and disease during this terrible famine.

The Bengal famine only increased the opposition to the British Government, and the "Quit India" demand gained more adherents.

End of the Second World War. In the meantime Japan had taken Burma and actually threatened Assam. But then the tide of war turned in favour of the Allies, the Japanese were driven out of Burma, and the menace to Assam subsided.

In May 1945, Hitler, the German dictator responsible for the war, committed suicide, and a few days later Germany surrendered unconditionally. Japan still held out, till in August the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan then sued for peace.

United Nations Organization. During the Second World War people once again began to feel the need for an international organization to preserve peace in the world. In 1945, a little before the war had ended, representatives of fifty countries met at San Francisco to devise an institution like the League of Nations to maintain order and peace among nations.

The San Francisco meeting adopted a Charter

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of the United Nations, by which an organization was to be set up to achieve this end.

A Meeting of the U. N. Security Council

The United Nations Organization was to consist of six principal organs: (1) a General Assembly, (2) a Security Council, (3) an Economic and Social Council, (4) a Trusteeship Council, (5) an International Court of Justice and (6) a Secretariat.

The General Assembly is made up of representatives of all the member nations. The Security Council has eleven members. Five of them, China, France, Great Britain, Russia and the United States are permanent members. The remaining six members are elected by the General Assembly, each for a term of two years.

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The first meeting of the General Assembly was held in London in 1946. The permanent seat of the organization has, however, been fixed in New York, in the United States of America.

I.N.A. Trials. Congress, however, did not change its attitude as a result of the victory of Britain and her Allies. It reiterated the demand for complete Indian independence, and insisted that Britain should " Quit India " forthwith.

The extent of the opposition to the British in India may be gauged from the attitude of the people to the famous Indian National Army trials. The I.N.A. consisted of Indian soldiers who had been captured by the Japanese in Burma, and had then been organized by Subhas Chandra Bose into a fighting force to assist the Japanese. The ultimate aim of the I.N.A. was to make India independent by expelling the British from the country.

When the British reconquered Burma, most of the I.N.A. soldiers lost their lives, while a few fell into British hands. These prisoners were court-martialled in the Red Fort at Delhi.

The Congress and the people of India, however, refused to consider these men traitors. Disturbances took place in all parts of the country, and the most prominent Indian lawyers defended them in their trials. The Court found the men guilty, but, to satisfy the wishes of the people, the Government remitted their sentences.

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Subhas Chandra Bose. Subhas Chandra Bose lived a life of revolutionary activity, and died a mysterious death. He was born on January 23, 1897. After a brilliant academic career, he went to England where he graduated from Cambridge, and later stood fourth in the I.C.S. examination. In 1921 he resigned from the I.C.S. and joined Mahatma Gandhi.

Subhas Chandra Bose

During his political career he was imprisoned eleven times. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1938 and 1939, but resigned because of differences of opinion with the Congress Working Committee.

In 1941, during the Second World War, he disappeared suddenly from India. He was reported to be in Germany. He came to Burma in 1943, and organized the Indian National Army and the Indian National League. On August 23, 1945, the Japanese news agency announced his death. No one knows exactly how he died.

Hindu-Muslim Tension. Meanwhile, communal relations between Hindus and Muslims were steadily growing worse. Distrust changed to positive

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hatred and enmity. Several attempts to bring the two communities together failed completely.

In 1944 a meeting between Mahatma Gandhi and M. A. Jinnah took place at Bombay in the hope that the two would join forces for the common purpose of attaining India's independence. Gandhi wished that independence should first be achieved, after which a vote of all the people should be taken in the provinces that had a Muslim majority to decide the extent and nature of the Pakistan State. Jinnah was not agreeable to this solution. He wanted Pakistan to be conceded first, and he refused to agree to a people's vote in provinces which had a Muslim majority.

M. A. Jinnah

In the following year Lord Wavell tried to bring the two parties together. The Draft Declaration of the British Government, endorsed by Mr. Churchill in 1942, was re-affirmed. Before the new constitution was prepared, the Governor-General's Executive Council was to be composed of an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members, with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as the only two non-

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Indian members. This proposal also was not accepted, because the Congress wanted Congress Muslims to be included in the Council, and Jinnah wanted only members of the Muslim League.

The Cabinet Mission. In 1945, the Labour Party defeated the Conservatives in the General Election in Great Britain and came to power. One of its main concerns was to come to an agreement in India. It therefore sent a Cabinet Mission to India, composed of three Cabinet Ministers: Lord Pethick-Lawrence, A. V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps. The Mission's main task was to persuade the various communities in India to come to an agreement and frame a constitution for India.

The Cabinet Mission was against the formation of a separate State of Pakistan, because such a division would weaken the defence of India and entail waste and duplication in many other departments of State, and also because the two halves of Pakistan were separated by about 1100 kilometres.

Accordingly, the Mission advised the formation of a Union of India, comprising British India and the states. This Union would have charge of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. The remaining departments of administration were to be the charge of the provinces, which would have the right to form three autonomous groups: Group A was to consist of the six Hindu majority provinces of Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Orissa and Bihar;

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Group B was to consist of the Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province; and group C of Assam and Bengal. Groups B and C were made up of Muslim majority provinces.

By this means the Cabinet Mission hoped to preserve India's unity and, at the same time, give a measure of autonomy to the Muslims. It succeeded in persuading both the Congress and the League to try out the scheme and to form an Interim Government.

The Constituent Assembly of July 1946. In the elections that followed, the Congress Party had an overwhelming majority. The grouping into three autonomous quasi-states, which the Cabinet Ministers had proposed, was ignored, and the Congress showed unwillingness to let either the North-West Frontier Province or Assam join what was virtually the Pakistan bloc. Thereupon the Muslim League cancelled its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, and determined to launch a programme of Direct Action to achieve Pakistan. The League proclaimed August 16, 1946, Direct Action Day. On that day Muslims all over India were expected to show by direct action their approval of the Muslim League demand for Pakistan.

Direct Action Day. Whether intentionally or not, the observance of the day led to one of the bloodiest riots in the history of India. Hindus and Muslims in Calcutta immediately started attacking each other, and within a short time of the outbreak

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about 5,000 people were killed and 13,000 injured, whilst looting and arson caused damage estimated at over one crore.

The Calcutta riots were followed by outbreaks in other parts of the country. Large numbers of Hindus and Muslims were the victims of ruthless violence and slaughter.

Interim Government of August 1946. When the Muslims refused to co-operate with the Government, Lord Wavell formed a new Interim Government, consisting of representatives of all communities except the Muslim League. It assumed charge in September 1946, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chief Minister.

Lord Wavell nevertheless persisted in his efforts to bring about a settlement between the two communities, and offered the Muslim League five seats in the Cabinet, which was the number of the caste Hindu members.

After considerable persuasion, the League at last agreed to join the Interim Government on October 15, 1946; but a couple of months later the Congress and the League fell out again, and the Constituent Assembly met on December 9, 1946, without any member of the League either in the Interim Government or in the Assembly.

Attlee's Statement. Because of the repeated failure of the Hindus and the Muslims to come to a settlement, the British Government felt that no useful purpose would be served by making further

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attempts to bring this about. Accordingly, on February 20, 1947, the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the British Government would transfer its authority not later than June 1948, to whichever group happened to be in power at the time. The transfer was to be made by Lord Mountbatten, the successor to Lord Wavell, whom the British Government had recalled before his term of office had expired.

SUMMARY

During Lord Wavell's time the Bengal Famine claimed 1,500,000 victims, and led to increasing opposition to the British Government, as was later clearly witnessed by the universal demand for the release of the I.N.A. soldiers, at the conclusion of the Second World War, when an attempt was made to secure international peace by establishing the U.N.O. The Labour Government sent a Cabinet Mission to try to achieve a settlement in India. It was partly successful, but dissensions again broke out which led to proclamation of Direct Action Day by the Muslim League, resulting in terrible riots all over the country. As there was very little hope of the two parties settling their grievances, the Prime Minister announced that the British Government was determined to transfer its authority to the party in power not later than June 1948.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you know of the Bengal Famine?
2. Give a brief account of political conditions in India during Lord Wavell's time.
3. Write a short note on the Cabinet Mission.

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THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

The Mountbatten Plan. Lord Mountbatten had been Supreme Allied Commander in South-East Asia. He was the last British Viceroy of India. His term of office lasted from March 1947 to August 1947.

Lord Mountbatten

As soon as he arrived in India, he set about the task of studying the political situation in order to transfer power to Indian hands as quickly as possible. He immediately realized that the only alternative to partition was civil strife in India.

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In a statement issued on June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten therefore suggested the partition of India into two States, India and Pakistan. The provinces of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab were to be partitioned according to the religion of the inhabitants, and in the North-West Frontier and the District of Sylhet a vote of the people was to be taken to decide whether they should join India or Pakistan.

Largely owing to his persuasiveness, all the parties in India agreed to this plan, which was immediately put into effect. The Punjab and Bengal were divided; West Bengal and East Punjab joined the Indian Union, East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan. The North-West Frontier and Sylhet both decided by a people's vote in favour of merging with Pakistan.

Indian Independence Act. Once the Mountbatten Plan had been accepted, the Labour Government immediately made provision for the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. In July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act, which provided that India should be free on August 15, 1947.

On that date the Dominions of India and Pakistan came into being. The King of England ceased to be the Emperor of India, but continued to be King of India and Pakistan by courtesy. The office of Viceroy came to an end, and in its place the King appointed Governors-General for the two Domi-

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nions. The Indian states were given the right to join either India or Pakistan. In each Dominion, the legislative power was vested in a Constituent Assembly, entrusted with the task of framing a constitution. Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari became the first Indian Governor-General of independent India, after the departure of Lord Mountbatten, who, on the abolition of the viceroyalty, had remained in Delhi as Governor-General of India until June 1948.

The Republic of India. One of the earliest effects of the Partition of India was the outbreak of communal rioting on a large scale. As a result, great masses of people were transferred from one Dominion to the other.

On January 30, 1948, an assassin shot and killed Mahatma Gandhi at a prayer meeting in Delhi. The death of the " Father of the Nation " was an irreparable loss to the country. His passing was deeply mourned, not only in India, but all over the world.

With Partition, a Constituent Assembly was created in each Dominion to frame the constitution. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

India's Draft Constitution was prepared under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar, and was at last passed on January 26, 1950, when India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

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SUMMARY

As soon as he arrived, Lord Mountbatten began to make arrangements to transfer power to Indian hands, and suggested the partition of India into India and Pakistan. His plan was accepted, and the British Government then passed the Indian Independence Act which provided that India should be free on August 15, 1947. On January 26, 1950 India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

QUESTIONS

1. Write a short note on the Mountbatten Plan.
2. What changes did the Indian Independence Act introduce?

ARCHITECTS OF THE NEW INDIA

Mahatma Gandhi. To the teeming millions of India, the Mahatma—" Great Soul "—will always be the Sage of Sabarmati. He is still venerated by thousands of his countrymen who regard him as little less than a saint. He was certainly the chief architect of India's freedom.

He was born on October 2, 1869. After completing his studies in India, he qualified as a barrister in England and began practice in South Africa. The treatment given to Indians in that country roused in him the spirit of revolt, and he began his famous Passive Resistance Movement, which met with considerable success.

His South African achievement inspired him to start the Non-co-operation Movement in India in 1919, in order to attain freedom from British

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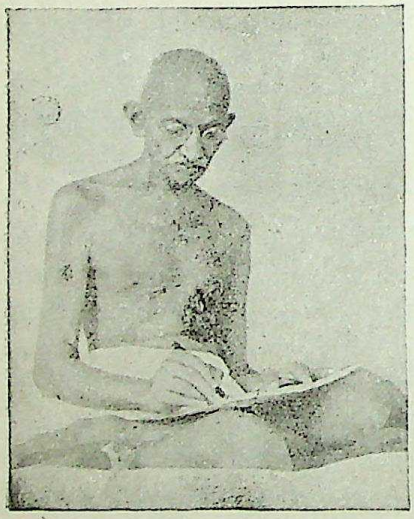
rule. Thereafter, in succession, he launched the Boycott Movement, the Civil Disobedience Campaign and Individual Civil Disobedience.



Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhi's method was essentially spiritual. Non-violence was his chief weapon, together with fasting and penance. Side by side with his attempt to gain freedom from foreign rule, he tried to rid the country of the evils of "untouchability" and communal hatred.

His methods, which were unique in the history of mankind, made him a world figure. The high spirituality of his way of life has left its mark upon mankind. He was killed by an assassin in January, 1948.

Jawaharlal Nehru. The Nehrus are descended from the Kauls who were high noblemen under the Mughul Emperors. Born in 1889, Jawaharlal Nehru himself was the son of one of India's richest men.

As a child he studied, in turn, under an Indian Pandit, an English governess and an Irish tutor. He then went to Harrow and Cambridge. After seven years, he returned to India, a qualified barrister.

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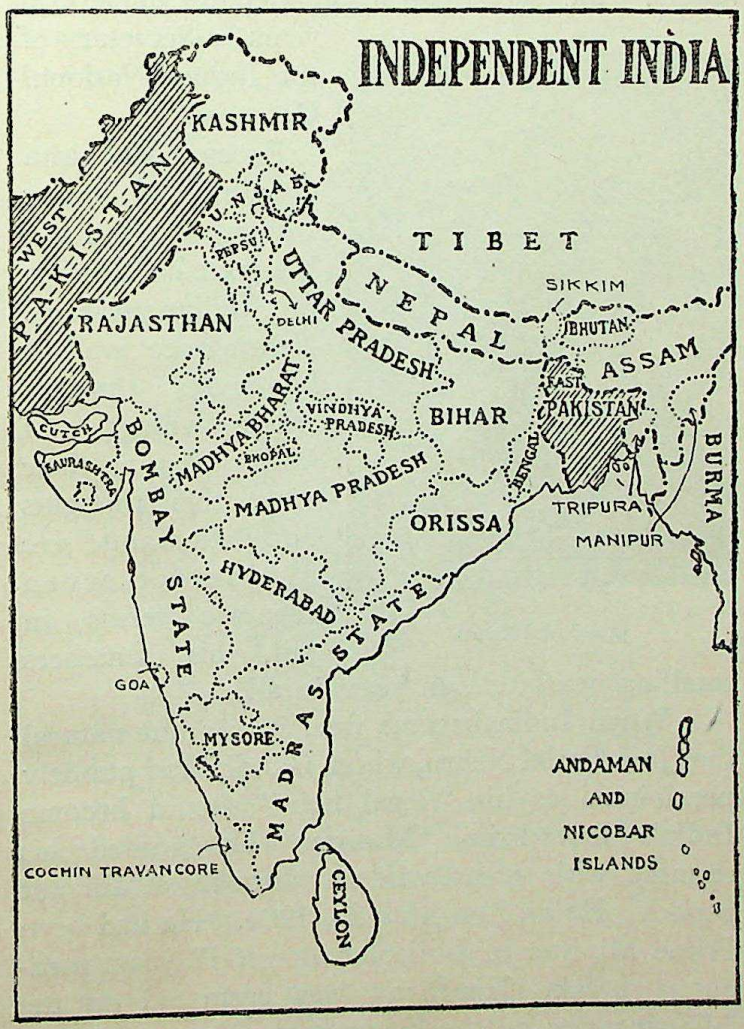

He soon came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, and became one of his most ardent fol-

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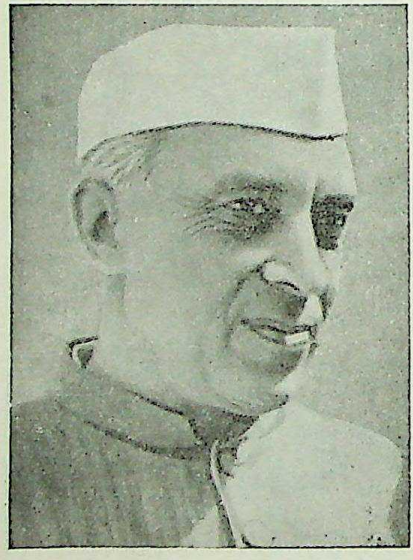
lowers. He served an apprenticeship of several years as Secretary of the Indian National Congress.



Jawaharlal Nehru

Except Mahatma Gandhi, no other Indian politician has gone so close to the Indian peasant. Nehru once walked kilometres through whole villages of *kisans*, learning their ways, their thoughts and their wants. He also served seven separate terms in jail, his sentences totalling nearly eleven years in all.

When India became free, it was but natural that Jawaharlal Nehru, whom Gandhi had publicly proclaimed as his "legal heir" should become India's first Prime Minister. He guided his country with great wisdom through a difficult period. He died on May 27, 1964. He had been Prime Minister of India for almost 17 years without a break. His body was cremated on the following day on the banks of the Yamuna, about 275 metres away from Mahatma Gandhi's *samadhi* at Rajghat.

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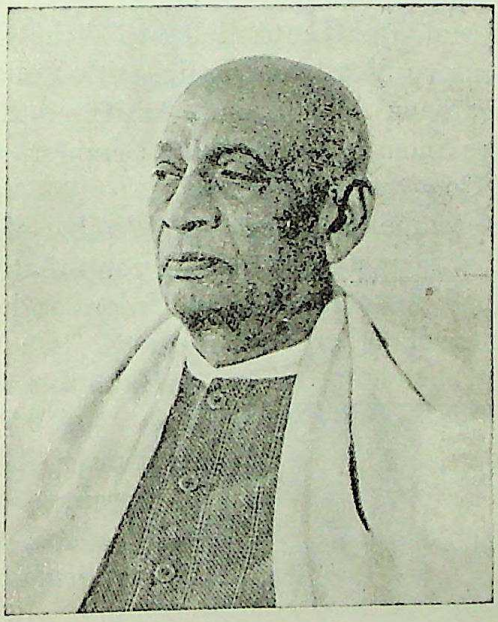
Vallabhbhai Patel. Vallabhbhai Patel was known as the " Strong Man " of the Congress. He was one of the most forceful leaders of modern India.



Vallabhbhai Patel

Born on October 31, 1875, he had an uneventful educational career. He qualified as a pleader, set up practice and saved enough money to go to England and return a Middle Temple barrister, after having stood first at the Bar examination.

He came into prominence during a farmers' *satyagraha* in Gujarat and a mill strike in Ahmedabad. It was under his leadership again that Bardoli

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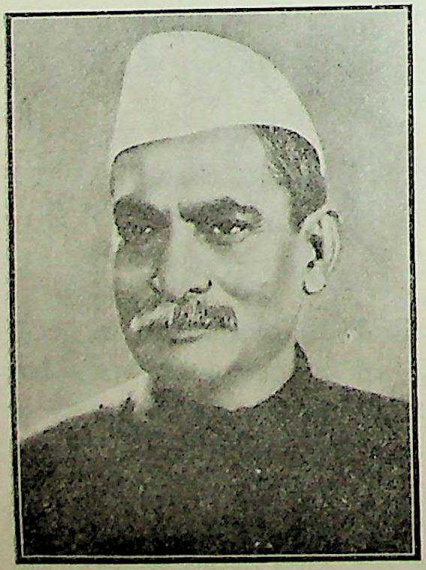
staged the revolt against the increase in the land tax in 1928.

He soon began to take an increasing part in Congress affairs, and became one of the closest associates of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1936 the Congress Parliamentary Board was set up, with Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad as members. He had a major share in shaping Congress policy.

He became the first Home Member of free India, and was responsible for the coup that brought Hyderabad into the Indian Union and for the absorption of other Indian states. He died on December 15, 1950.



Rajendra Prasad

Rajendra Prasad. A man of extreme simplicity, Babu Rajendra Prasad was a figure of great moral strength of character. He hailed from Bihar where he was born on December 3, 1884.

He stood first in almost every examination for which he appeared,

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and was a Professor in Greer College before he took to practice at the Patna Bar.

When Mahatma Gandhi started his political movement, Rajendra Prasad, like so many others, was drawn into the struggle for India's freedom. Ever since he had been one of the staunchest of Congressmen.

In 1934, when an earthquake destroyed great areas of Bihar and thousands lost their homes and their lives, Rajendra Prasad was specially released from prison by the British Government to shoulder the task of organizing relief for his people.

He was President of the Indian National Congress, was one of the three who formed the High Command and, finally, was elected President of the Indian Constituent Assembly. He succeeded Rajagopalachari as Governor-General, and under the Constitution of the 26th January, 1950, he became President of India. He was elected to continue in this office for a further five years in May 1952.

On May 13, 1962 he relinquished his office and returned to *Sadaquat Ashram* or the Abode of Truth, in Patna, where he died on February 28, 1963 at the age of 78.

Sarojini Naidu. Sarojini Naidu was India's patriot-poetess. She was born in Hyderabad on February 13, 1879. A precocious child, she matriculated at the age of twelve, and then went to England where she spent three years at Cambridge.

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She wrote much wistful poetry, which attracted the notice of English critics. Edmund Gosse wrote that " the sight of much suffering has thinned her jasmine garlands and darkened the azure of her sky ". Among her works are *The Golden Threshold*, *The Bird of Time* and *The Broken Wing*.

Sarojini Naidu

Politics eventually claimed her, and she joined the Congress fold. She was a delegate to the Second Round Table Conference and was deputed by Mahatma Gandhi to take his place when he was arrested during the march to Dandi. She also deputized for the Mahatma in South Africa.

She was the first woman President of the Indian National Congress, the only woman member of the High Command and the President of the All-India Women's Conference.

Free India saw her the first woman Governor of a province. She died on March 2, 1949.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born in 1888 in Mecca, where his father had fled from India a little after the War of 1857. He was educated at the Al Azhar University, Cairo.

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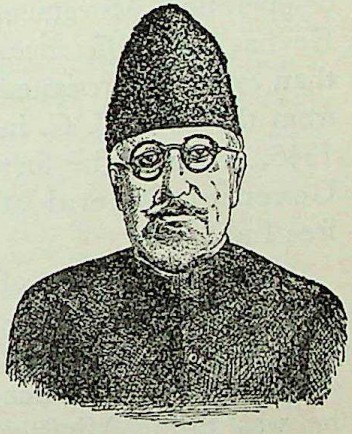
He took to journalism at a very young age, and edited the *Lisanul Sido* or Voice of Truth, and later the Urdu weekly *Al Hilal*.



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

In politics, he was for a time at the head of the Khilafat Movement. He next came under the spell of the Mahatma, and joined the Indian National Congress. He became Congress President in 1923 and 1940, and was also a Member of the High Command. He became Education Minister in the first Cabinet of free India. He died on February 22, 1958.

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari comes from a village near Hosur, in Salem district, where he was born in 1879. He was educated at Central College, Bangalore, Presidency College and Law College, Madras.

Like many other well-known Congressmen, he gave up a splendid career at the Bar to fight for the freedom of his country, when he came under the influence of the Mahatma in 1919. He was so close a follower of Gandhi that in 1920, when the latter was in prison, Rajagopalachari edited *Young India* with great success, keeping faithfully to the ideals of his great leader.

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In 1921 and 1922 he was General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and a member of the A. I. C. C. throughout the Non-co-operation Movement, in 1941 and in 1946. He has had differences with the Congress more than once, and resigned from the A. I. C. C. in 1946. He was the first Governor-General of free India.

C. Rajagopalachari

He is a man of great strength of character, with no touch of communalism. When he was Prime Minister of Madras, from 1937 to 1940, he had the courage to post Harijans to operate Brahmana water-taps. Rajagopalachari still takes an active interest in the political progress and social welfare of India. On August 1, 1959 he and Prof. N. G. Ranga founded the Swatantra Party, in opposition to the Congress Party.

SUMMARY

Mahatma Gandhi was the chief architect of India's freedom. He was a great spiritual leader. His non-violent methods made him a world figure. Jawaharlal Nehru has gone closer to the Indian peasant than any other Indian

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politician except Gandhi. He served many years in jail, and guided India with great wisdom. Vallabhbhai Patel was India's " Strong Man ". He was one of Gandhi's closest associates. As the first Home Member of free India, he was responsible for the absorption of the Indian states into the Indian Union. Rajendra Prasad was a man of great simplicity. A high intellectual, he held many important offices in the Congress. He did great service to his countrymen during the Bihar earthquake. Sarojini Naidu was India's patriot-poetess. She wrote fine poetry, and served her country as well. She was the only woman member of the Congress High Command, and the first woman Governor of a province. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad took to journalism at an early age. He came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi and served Congress very well. C. Rajagopalachari was also a close associate of Gandhi. He edited *Young India* for a time. He has had differences with the Congress. He is a man of great strength of character, with no trace of communalism.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is Mahatma Gandhi considered a world figure?
2. What was the secret of Jawaharlal Nehru's hold on the people of India?
3. What do you know of Sarojini Naidu?
4. Compare Rajendra Prasad and Rajagopalachari.

AT HOME AND ABROAD

The Commonwealth. After independence both the leaders and the people soon realized that the task of building a new India was not ended but had only just begun. Almost the very first problem that India had to settle was whether or not to be a mem-

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ber of the British Commonwealth of Nations. All the Dominions of the Commonwealth acknowledged the King of England as their constitutional head and it is he who appoints a Governor-General to control the administration in each of them.

The Indian National Congress had claimed that India should be a sovereign republic that did not recognize the King of England as its head and was not controlled by a Governor-General appointed by him. The difficulty was solved by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in 1949, which agreed that the prefix "British" should be dropped and that India should recognize the British monarch, not as the Supreme Head of India, but as the Symbol of Unity. India accordingly continues to be a member of what is now known as the Commonwealth of Nations, even though on January 26, 1950 the Constitution of India was passed and India became a "sovereign democratic republic".

The Indian States. Lord Mountbatten called a conference on July 25, 1947 to discuss the accession of the Indian states to either India or Pakistan, because once the Indian Independence Act was passed by the British parliament, the treaties between Britain and the Indian Princes would be annulled.

The conference was attended by over a hundred princes and representatives of the states. On August 1 it was announced that the majority of them had

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accepted the Instrument of Accession and had consented to a Standstill Agreement until new arrangements could be made.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, however, issued a *firman*, stating that he had become an independent sovereign after the withdrawal of the British from India. After negotiations, he also signed a Standstill Agreement, but trouble soon broke out on the border as well as within the state. The Indian army then moved in and Hyderabad surrendered. On November 24, 1948 the Nizam finally made a declaration which implied the accession of the state to India.

Trouble also arose over Kashmir. On October 26, 1947 over 2,000 desperadoes entered the state to loot and kill. It acceded to India the following day and Indian troops went to its defence. Pakistan refused to recognize the accession which had been accepted by Lord Mountbatten. On January 15, 1948 the dispute was taken to the United Nations Security Council. Fighting broke out between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, but the UN Commission on Kashmir persuaded them to agree to a " cease fire " on December 31, 1948.

When Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, India did not recognize the accession. It was stated that the authorities in the state were oppressing the Hindu population which was in a majority. Indian troops therefore occupied the state without opposition. Pakistan again refused to acknowledge the

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occupation. Junagadh, however, finally became a part of Saurashtra in January 1949.

Within the short interval of two years (1947-1949) the princely states disappeared from the map of India and their rulers became ordinary citizens of India.

Foreign Settlements. The French settlement of Chandernagore was transferred to India on May 2, 1950. The transfer was ratified and became legal two years later and Chandernagore was included in West Bengal when a Bill for the purpose was passed in the House of the People on September 20, 1954. The same year, one by one, the other French settlements of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé and Yanam were transferred to India by the French. The transfer was formally completed on August 18, 1962 when Instruments of Ratification were exchanged between India and France.

In 1954 a group of volunteers occupied the villages of Dadra and Nagar Havelli, which had formed part of the Portuguese possessions in India. But 300 volunteers, who attempted to enter Goa, were stopped at the border by Portuguese troops and thirteen of them lost their lives. Dadra and Nagar Havelli became part of the Indian Union on August 11, 1961. In December the same year, the Indian army entered Goa, Daman and Diu. The Portuguese offered little resistance and the three foreign possessions were liberated by the Indian Union.

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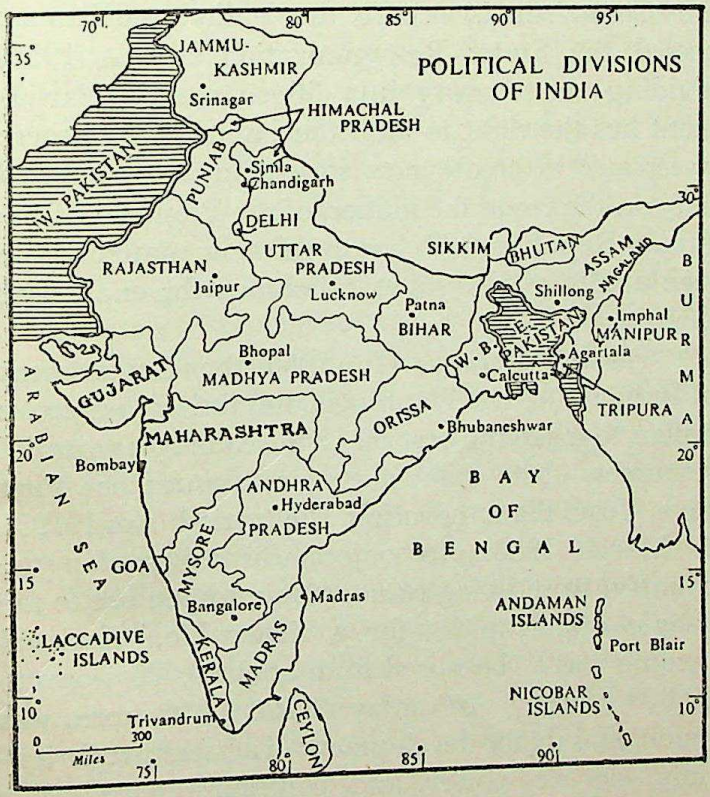

Re-organization of States. After Independence, India was still divided into provinces, as administered by the British rulers, and Indian states. The Indian National Congress now wished to divide the country on the basis of languages, merging the princely states into the provinces.

The Government of India appointed the States Re-organization Commission in 1953 to make recommendations for the purpose. On the basis of

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the Commission's report the Indian parliament passed the States Re-organization Bill in 1956, dividing the country into fifteen states. Parliament has the right to alter the boundaries of these states and to create new states, but it can do so only on the recommendation of the President of the Indian Republic, who has to refer the matter to the legislatures of the states concerned for expressing their views.

Planned Economy. In 1950 the Government of India set up the Planning Commission to prepare a plan to make the best use of the country's material resources. The following year it issued the First Five Year Plan, covering the period April 1951 to March 1956. Its object was to develop the country, raise living standards and open out to the people opportunities for a richer life. National income was to be raised from about 9,000 crores to 10,000 crores. An outlay of Rs. 2,356 crores was made, mainly for development of agriculture, irrigation, electric power and communications. The Plan achieved its objectives.

On May 15, 1956 the Second Five Year Plan, covering the period April 1956 to March 1961, was submitted to parliament. Its main objectives were to increase the national income, develop basic and heavy industries, give more opportunities for employment and reduce inequality in income.

The Third Five Year Plan covered the period April 1961 to March 1966. An investment of

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Rs. 10,500 crores was to be made to develop basic industries, to achieve self-sufficiency in food and to provide employment to the people.

The main objectives of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, covering the period April 1966 to March 1971 were similar to those of the first three plans. It laid stress on all schemes that would promote exports, on price stability, agricultural production, increase of consumer goods and control of population. The Plan was criticised by some for being too big and by others for being too small. Most critics, however, agreed that planning methods in India had brought a steady increase in taxation. Too much money was also being spent on the administrative machinery.

The Planning Commission decided on November 10, 1967 that the Fourth Plan should commence only in March 1969. The interregnum of three years between the end of the Third Plan and the beginning of the Fourth Plan being covered by annual plans.

India Abroad. India is today a world power, and is playing a great role in the United Nations. A notable event was the address of India's late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to the United Nations General Assembly on November 3, 1948. In 1953 Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was elected the President of the eighth session of the UN General Assembly.

It was largely because of India's persistence

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that the United Nations took the view that the racial discrimination in South Africa was contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Similarly the former Italian colonies of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland owe their independence partly to India's efforts on their behalf.

India has taken an active interest in disarmament. In August 1955 Dr. H. J. Bhabha, the leader of the Indian delegation, presided over the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, which was held at Geneva. In 1960 Pandit Nehru attended the UN "Summit" General Assembly Session as leader of the Indian delegation and, on October 1, moved a resolution urging America and Russia to resume their contacts at a time when the peace of the world was in great danger.

In June 1954 he held talks with Chou En-lai, China's Premier, and issued a joint statement on *Panch Sila.* The five principles enunciated therein were respect for each other's territory, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and peaceful co-existence.

Tibet. Till 1910 there were close ties between Tibet and China. But in that year China led an expedition into Tibet which naturally strained relations between the two countries. Four years later a tripartite convention was signed between Great Britain, China and Tibet, known as the Simla Agreement, but the Chinese later refused to ratify it.

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Relations between the two countries continued to become worse till in 1949 Tibet broke off diplomatic connections with China. The following year, the Chinese People's Republic began to mobilize troops for an attack on Tibet. The Tibetans, who were in no position to resist, agreed to negotiate. But even while the Tibetan mission was discussing terms with the Chinese ambassador in Delhi, the Chinese army advanced 300 miles into Tibet.

After prolonged negotiations between the Dalai Lama's government and China an agreement was signed in Peking on May 23, 1951, recognizing Chinese suzerainty over an autonomous Tibet. Thereafter the Chinese army entered Tibet, ostensibly to strengthen its national defences but in reality to keep the people under control.

What exactly was happening during the succeeding months was not known. Widespread anti-Chinese feeling grew in the country. There was a revolt among Golok tribesmen in 1956, and another in Lhasa in 1959, which was followed by the flight of the Dalai Lama to India. China then dissolved the Tibetan government and set up a committee headed by the Panchen Lama and four Chinese officials to rule Tibet.

Sino-Indian Conflict. Relations between China and India became strained in 1959 because Chinese forces established themselves in the Ladakh area. Except for two incidents, however, the situation

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remained static for about a year. In April 1960, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, visited Delhi, but no agreement was reached between the two governments.

In 1961 it was stated in the *Lok Sabha* that China claimed about 50,000 square miles of Indian territory and was in occupation of 12,000, that she refused to recognize the accession of Kashmir to India and did not accept India's special relationship with Bhutan and Sikkim.

Presidents of India. In power since Independence, the Indian National Congress saw a major change in its government after the third general elections of 1962. On May 13 Dr. Rajendra Prasad relinquished his office as President of the Idian Republic, after having held it with distinction for twelve years. The retiring President then returned to *Sadaquat Ashram* which he had left in 1946 to join the Interim Government. It was from this secluded place that he had guided the freedom movement in Bihar for three decades and it was from there that he had been called upon to preside over the destinies of the Indian National Congress. Rajendra Prasad died on February 28, 1963.

He was succeeded as President by Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who had been elected Vice-President in 1952 and again in 1957. He brought to his exalted office great erudition and a wide experience of men and matters. His connection with Oxford University as Hibbert Lecturer goes back

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to 1929. Between 1936 and 1952 he was Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics. A widely travelled man, he was the leader of the Indian delegation to UNESCO from 1946 to 1950. He continued as President till May 5, 1967.

Death of Nehru. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru died in New Delhi on May 27, 1964. Two and a half hours after his death, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda was sworn in as Prime Minister.

On June 2, 1964 Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri was unanimously elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Shortly after his election, Mr. Shastri was invited by President Radhakrishnan to form a Cabinet to replace the caretaker government headed by Mr. Nanda.

Indo-Pakistan Conflict. Large-scale fighting broke out between India and Pakistan on August 5, 1965 when armed infiltrators from Azad Kashmir (the Pakistan area of Kashmir) began entering Indian Kashmir to foment revolt. From August 16 onwards, Indian forces occupied a number of points on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line to prevent further encroachment. The Pakistan army launched a full-scale offensive into Jammu on September 1, threatening to cut communications between India and Kashmir. The Indian army invaded West Pakistan in three sectors.

Bitter fighting raged between the two countries till September 23, when, in response to a demand from the U.N. Security Council a cease-fire came

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into effect. Even after the cease fire, however, repeated clashes took place between the two armies each of which continued to occupy considerable areas of the territory of the other. Attempts by the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. U Thant, to negotiate their withdrawal were unsuccessful.

Tashkent Declaration. Through the good offices of the Soviet government in resolving the dispute, a summit meeting was arranged at Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, the Soviet Central Asian Republic, on January 4, 1966. The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Alexei Kosygin, was in Tashkent throughout the negotiations and played a vital part in their successful outcome.

The talks ended on January 10 with the signing of a Declaration in which India and Pakistan agreed to renounce force in the settlement of their disputes, to withdraw their armed forces, not later than February 25, 1966, to the positions they had occupied on August 5, 1965 before the outbreak of hostilities and to restore diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between the two countries.

Death of Shastri. Within a few hours of the signing of the Indo-Pakistan Declaration at Tashkent, Mr. Shastri, who was 61, had a heart attack at 1 a.m. on January 11 and died within about 12 minutes. Thousands of mourners lined the streets of the city on the same day as the coffin bearing his remains, draped in the Indian tricolour, was borne with military honours to the airfield whence it was

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flown to New Delhi. Mr. Kosygin and President Ayub Khan acted as pall-bearers at the airfield. Twelve days of state mourning were ordered throughout India. The body was cremated on the banks of the Jumna River near the spot where the bodies of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had been cremated.

Mr. Shastri had been Prime Minister for a little over a year and a half. During this period he had displayed exceptional qualities of political leadership and integrity of character. Born on October 2, 1904—the same day as Mahatma Gandhi—at Mughalsarai, a village near Benares, Lal Bahadur Shastri was the son of Sharda Prasad, a schoolmaster. At the age of 17 he left school in response to Mahatma Gandhi's appeal to students to boycott schools and colleges, and joined the Congress Party.

Between 1921 and 1942 he was active in all mass movements launched by the Congress and was imprisoned seven times, spending more than nine years in confinement. In 1937 he was elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly, and in 1951, when the Congress Party fought its first general election, he entered the Central Legislature as a member of the Rajya Sabha. The same year he became Minister of Railways. He resigned in 1956, following a rail disaster in which 150 persons lost their lives. In 1959 he was returned to the Lok Sabha and became Minister of Transport. In 1961 he took over the Ministry of Home Affairs. After

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Mr. Nehru's death, he was elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and assumed the Premiership.

Acting Prime Minister. In New Delhi, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Home Affairs, was sworn in by President Radhakrishnan on January 11, 1966 as Acting Prime Minister. All the other Ministers retained their portfolios. Mr. Nanda had been in the Cabinet since 1951.

Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Minister of Information and Broadcasting and daughter of the late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, was elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party on January 19. She was sworn in as Prime Minister on January 24. The Chief Ministers of 10 states, meeting in New Delhi a few days earlier, had unanimously recommended that she should be chosen leader of the Party.

There were two nominees for the leadership of the Party and by consequence for the Premiership—Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Morarji Desai, who had been Minister of Finance under Mr. Nehru and Chief Minister of Bombay State. Congress members of both Houses of the Central Legislature took part in the elections. Mrs. Gandhi was elected leader and Prime Minister designate, receiving 355 votes against 169 for Mr. Desai.

Mrs. Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917 and educated in Switzerland and England. She later studied at Shantiniketan where she came under

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the influence of the famous poet, Rabindranath Tagore. She joined the Congress at the age of 21 and was imprisoned for 13 months for participating in the freedom struggle. In 1942, she married Feroze Gandhi, a Parsee. She was a member of the Congress Working Committee and was elected President of the Indian National Congress at its Nagpur session.

General Elections. Voting in India's fourth general election for the *Lok Sabha* took place from January 15–21, 1967 in all the States and Union territories, including Kashmir, except in certain snowbound areas of Himachal Pradesh and in Goa where it was postponed till April. Election to the Assemblies in all States, except in Nagaland where elections had been held in 1964, also took place at the same time. The electorate totalled 250,681,530 compared with 216,372,215 in 1962.

As in 1962, the ballot papers were marked with a distinctive symbol for each candidate. Seven parties—the Indian National Congress, Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Praja Socialists, Samyukta Socialists and right and left wing Communists—were recognised.

The Congress retained power, but its majority was reduced from 219 to about fifty in the *Lok Sabha.* In the election to the State Assemblies, it retained its majority in seven States; opposition parties, alone or in alliance, obtained a majority in three; and no party had a majority in five.

After the general elections, Mrs. Indira

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Gandhi was unanimously elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party on March 12. Mr. Morarji Desai had indicated that he would again be a candidate for the party leadership. But when Mrs. Gandhi informed him that she was prepared to grant him the title of Deputy Prime Minister, he announced that he had withdrawn his candidature for the leadership. Mrs. Gandhi and her cabinet of 14 Ministers of State were sworn in on March 13, and three more Ministers of State and fourteen Deputy Ministers on March 18.

Dr. Zakir Hussain. On May 6, 1967 Dr. Zakir Hussain, the retiring Vice-President, was elected President of India in succession to President Radhakrishnan who had declined to seek a further term of office. Mr. V. V. Giri, the Governor of Mysore, was elected Vice-President.

Dr. Hussain, who was seventy at the time, was India's third President and first Muslim President. He was born at Hyderabad, now in Andhra Pradesh, the son of a lawyer of Afghan descent. He studied at Aligarh and Berlin Universities, taking a Ph.D. in Economics at the latter. His writings include economic works and an Urdu translation of Plato's *Republic.*

SUMMARY

After Independence India continued to be a member of the Commonwealth. In 1948 the Nizam of Hyderabad made a declaration which implied the accession of the state to

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India. Trouble arose in Kashmir which acceded to India in 1947. Two years later, Junagadh also became a part of India. In December 1961 the Indian army entered Goa, Daman and Diu and liberated the three foreign possessions. In 1956 the Indian Parliament passed the States Re-organization Bill dividing the country into fifteen states. In 1950 the Government of India set up the Planning Commission which prepared a series of five-year plans to make the best use of the country's material resources. India also began to play a part in the United Nations. In 1948 Pandit Nehru addressed the U. N. General Assembly and in 1953 Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was elected President of its eighth session. In 1954 Pandit Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai issued a joint statement on *Panch Sila.* Dr. Rajendra Prasad relinquished the office of President of the Indian Republic on May 13, 1962 and was succeeded by Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Pandit Nehru died on May 27, 1964 and was succeeded by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. Large-scale fighting broke out between India and Pakistan on August 5, 1965 when armed infiltrators entered Kashmir from Azad Kashmir. A cease-fire came into effect on September 23. A Declaration was signed at Tashkent, in which India and Pakistan agreed to renounce force in the settlement of disputes. Mr. Shastri died at Tashkent within a few hours of the signing of the Declaration. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected Prime Minister in his place. After the general elections, the Congress came into power again and Mrs. Gandhi was re-elected Prime Minister. Dr. Zakir Hussain was elected President of India.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did India choose to remain in the Commonwealth?

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2. How did Hyderabad and Kashmir become a part of India?
3. How were the Portuguese possessions liberated?
4. What role has India played as a world power?

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